

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
Ninth Annual Convention
OF THE
SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY,

HELD AT
Grand Central Palace, 43rd St. & Lexington Ave., N. Y. City,
JULY 4th to JULY 10th, 1896.

FIRST DAY'S SESSION.

Saturday, July 4th, 1896.

The Convention was called to order by Henry Kuhn, Secretary of the National Executive Committee.

Delegate Lucien Sanial was unanimously elected temporary chairman, and Delegate Charles B. Copp temporary secretary.

On motion of Delegate Hugo Vogt two committees, of five members each, were elected as follows:

On Credentials, Delegates Herrschaft, Jonas, Bennetts, Ruther and Kreft.

On Rules and Regulations, Delegates Vogt, Curran, De Leon, Nagler and Watkins.

A recess of thirty minutes was then taken.

The Committee on Credentials being ready to report, the Convention was again called to order. The following is a complete list of the ninety-four delegates who were admitted, including one from Chicago, Ill., and one from Pawtucket, R. I., who arrived on the following day:

CONNECTICUT—

F. Serrer.....	New Haven.
M. Goldsmith.....	New Britain.
F. O. Pilgrim.....	Waterbury, American.
J. S. Powell.....	Hartford.

ILLINOIS—

Fr. Kalbitz.....	Chicago, German.
Lewis C. Fry.....	East St. Louis.

IOWA—

F. Kraemer.....	
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MARYLAND—

Ernest H. Wenzel.....Baltimore

MASSACHUSETTS—

James F. Carey.....Haverhill, American.
 Fr. Hoedecker.....Boston, American.
 Thos. C. Brophy.....Boston, American.
 Mrs. A. Konikow.....Boston, Jewish.
 Wm. Isenecker.....Boston, German.
 Herman Keiser.....Fitchburg and Clinton.
 Philip Connor.....Greylock and North Adams.
 Moritz Ruther.....Holyoke.
 George R. Pearce.....Lynn.
 Anthony McDonald.....Lawrence.
 John Palme.....New Bedford.
 Herman Koepke.....Pittsfield.
 F. A. Nagler.....Springfield.

MISSOURI—

Albert Sanderson.....St. Louis.
 G. A. Hoehn....."

NEW HAMPSHIRE—

Benj. T. Whitehouse.....Dover.
 F. G. R. Gordon.....Manchester, American.
 John Mansfeld.....Manchester, German.

NEW JERSEY—

Joseph Eulenstein.....Camden.
 James Grundy.....Elizabeth, American.
 Chas. Dahmen.....Hackensack.
 A. Mundt.....Hoboken.
 Geo. Herrschaft.....Hoboken.
 Fred. Finke.....West Hoboken, German.
 Joseph B. Keim.....Jersey City I.
 John A. Morhart.....Jersey City, Greenville.
 Harry Carless.....Newark, Essex County.
 Frank W. Wilson....."
 B. Rosenbloom.....New Brunswick.
 Chas. Boelher.....Paterson.
 Chas. Duff....."
 Mathew Maguire.....Union Hill.
 William Ufert.....West Hoboken, American.
 J. W. James.....Plainfield.
 Julius Gerber.....Trenton.
 W. F. Wegener.....Jersey City Heights.

NEW YORK—

John C. Wieland.....Albany.
 B. Reinstein.....Buffalo.
 H. Reynolds....."
 Wm. Bergmann.....Elmira.
 Louis Hahn.....Glendale.
 Arthur Lange.....Gloversville.
 J. Thissen.....Hornellsville.
 Chas. H. Matchett.....Kings County.
 Peter Fiebigler....."
 E. T. Neben....."
 Max Forker....."
 Hugo Vogt....."
 Walfrid Ossberg.....Long Island City.
 F. Languth.....Mount Vernon.
 Samuel W. Felter.....Newburgh.
 August Jahn.....New Rochelle.

OHIO—

Alexander Jonas.....New York City.
 Lucien Sanial....."
 Daniel De Leon....."
 Howard Balkam....."
 Chas. B. Copp....."
 Patrick Murphy....."
 Chas. F. Wilson....."
 Frances Macdaniel....."
 William N. Reed....."
 Chas. Franz....."
 E. Sjolholm.....New York, Scandinavian.
 F. Hug.....Amsterdam.
 Jacob Zimmer.....Northfield.
 F. Mannier.....Oneta.
 F. W. Gastelger.....Port Chester.
 Frank A. Stevermann.....Rochester.
 Erasmus Pellenz.....Syracuse, American.
 Rudolph Katz.....Troy.
 E. Laebing.....Utica.
 Christian Patberg.....Williamsburg.
 Frederick Bennetts.....Yonkers.

PENNSYLVANIA—

Abe Urison.....Cincinnati.
 W. Krumroy.....Cleveland.
 C. Ibsen....."
 William Watkins.....Dayton.

RHODE ISLAND—

Thos. Curran.....Providence.
 E. W. Theinert....."
 Timothy Muldowney.....Pawtucket.

California was to be represented by Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Sletson, whose credentials had been transmitted by mail, but the delegate did not appear.

The report of the Credential Committee was approved, and the above-named delegates were seated by States, in the order arranged by the Organizer of Section New York, at the request of the Convention.

Comrade Joseph Powell, of Section Hartford, as to whom no action had been taken by the Credential Committee, was also seated as a delegate.

The Committee on Rules and Regulations, by Delegate Vogt, Chairman, thereupon submitted the following report:

1. The election of a Chairman and Vice-Chairman for each day.

2. The election of a permanent Secretary, to act in conjunction with Comrade Kuhn, Secretary of the National Executive Committee.

3. The election of a Committee on Constitution and Resolutions affecting the same.

4. The election of a Committee on Platform and Resolutions affecting the same.

5. The election of a Committee on Appeals and Grievances.

6. The election of a Committee on Party Press.

7. The election of an Auditing Committee.

The Committee also recommend the following order of business for each day:

1. Election of Chairman and Vice-Chairman.

2. Communications.

3. Report of Committees.

4. Unfinished business.

5. New business.

6. The last half hour of each afternoon session to be devoted to the receiving of resolutions, to be referred to the appropriate committees after their purport has been stated.

The committee further recommend the morning sessions to be from 9 a. m. to 12 m.; and the afternoon sessions from 2 p. m. to 6 p. m.

The Committee further recommend that the order of business for this day's session be as follows:

1. Organization.

2. Report of National Executive Committee.

3. Roll call of delegates for introduction of resolutions for reference to Committees.

4. Adjournment.

The Committee further recommend that on Sunday morning, after the reading of communications, the floor be granted to a delegation of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance.

The Committee further recommend that on the last day of the Convention the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States be the first order of business."

The report was approved.

By acclamation Delegate Brophy was then elected chairman for the day.

Recess until 2 p. m.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

Chairman Brophy in the chair.

The Convention immediately proceeded to the election of a Vice-Chairman for the day, and Delegate Kreft was elected as such by acclamation.

The Convention then proceeded to the election of a permanent Secretary to act in conjunction with Delegate Kuhn. Delegate Copp was elected as such by acclamation.

The Convention then proceeded to the election of a Committee on Constitution and Resolutions pertaining to the same.

It was moved and carried that the vote for members of this Committee be taken by ballot. The chair appointed Delegates Kreft, Vogt and Peare as tellers.

The Convention then proceeded to the election of a Committee on Platform and Resolutions. Delegates Fish, Vogt, Murphy, Carless and Nagler were unanimously elected.

The Convention then proceeded to the election of a Committee on Appeals and Grievances. Delegates Long, Whitehouse, Forker, Jonas and Ch. Wilson were unanimously elected.

The Convention then proceeded to the election of a Committee on Party Press.

Moved and carried that the vote be taken by ballot. The Chair appointed Delegates Chas. Wilson, Fiebigger and Nagler as tellers.

The tellers appointed by the Chair to canvass the vote cast for members of the Committee on Constitution and Resolutions reported as follows:

Total number of votes cast, 72. Matchett, 71; Ruther, 68; De Leon, 67; Maguire, 61; Fry, 45; Boether, 40; Mrs. Stetson, 2; Ufert, 1; Vogt, 1; Whitehouse, 1.

Delegates Matchett, Ruther, De Leon, Maguire and Fry were thereupon declared elected.

The Convention then proceeded to the election of an Auditing Committee, with the following result: Delegates Pilgrim, Munro, Duff and Ossberg.

Moved by Delegate Copp that Chas. Wagner, the messenger appointed by the National Executive Committee, be chosen Sergeant-at-Arms and Messenger of this Convention. Carried.

Moved that the Convention hear the report of the National Executive Committee. Carried.

The report of the National Executive Committee for the preceding three years was thereupon submitted by Comrade Henry Kuhn as follows:

REPORT OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, SOCIALIST

LABOR PARTY,

to the Ninth National Convention, July 4th, 1896.

INTRODUCTORY.

"The fact that we are but a national division of a world-wide working class movement, makes it necessary, when rendering a report to a national convention, to embody in that report a brief retrospect of the movement abroad; a short review of the most salient points that stand out prominently as so many symptoms, indicating the forces that are at work shaping the destinies of the various countries, where the rapid development and expansion of capitalism has brought about with inevitable certainty a corresponding development and expansion of its counterpart, its nightmare, its ultimate destroyer—the Socialist movement.

"In the political life of the industrial nations of continental Europe and all manifestations of public life seem to revolve around that one question, and all acts of the governments of these countries seem to be undertaken with an eye single to their effect upon that movement, either with a view to suppress and restrict, or perchance to cajole and appease, the grim spectre of the social revolution."

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"And yet while the bourgeoisie feels instinctively the impending doom of its infamous system and is vaguely conscious of the coming of a catastrophe, the logic of events and the economic laws of its system are driving it from one foolishness to another and heading down the road to perdition.

"This class, in its mad chase for more markets to dispose of the ever growing accumulation of wealth, wrung from the toilers in all the so-called civilized countries of this planet, by an ever expanding system of production, is now drawing the nations of Europe into wild schemes of colonial acquisition, while even on this continent it makes Uncle Sam view with mixed emotions the war or insurrection on the island of Cuba, and causes him to lick his chops and throw longing eyes upon the 'Pearl of the Antilles.'

"But while the capitalist class is thus engaged in its mission of 'civilizing' (i. e., appropriating) the continents of Africa and Asia, and is carrying stone after stone for its own tomb, the workers at home are forming their phalanxes, are drilling their battalions and are getting ready for its overthrow.

"When we pass in review the countless hosts of the world's militant Social Democracy, when we bear in mind that the same ideal fires their hearts and the same cause animates their action, then can we see most vividly the full grandeur of the idea that has connected so many minds, developed amid different conditions, and has encircled those countless thousands with one common bond of sympathy.

"The bourgeoisie of the various countries may snarl at one another, may be ready at times to fly at each other's throats, but the Socialist workers of one country know of no such feeling towards the toilers of another, and while they are the mortal foes of the capitalist class at home and abroad, there is no greater security against war than the existence of a powerful Socialist movement on the European continent.

"The rulers know what is underneath them, and they are apt to have a care.

"And there is ample reason for their apprehension, for truly wonderful has been the advance of the Socialist movement in some countries, notably in France and Belgium.

"Especially in the former, events have tumbled over one another, each showing clearly the irresistible momentum by which that movement is carried along. Though Germany is still leading with its vast Socialist vote, its splendid organization and the sound grasp of the principles of Socialism by so many of her workers, France bids fair to press on for first place, if things keep on going at the present rate.

"Before the rising power of its Social Democracy a President has gone down, ministry after ministry has tumbled after him, and only recently our French comrades have again demonstrated what they can do, when they captured town after town and city after city at the municipal elections, controlling now a whole network of communities all over the country.

"Our comrades in Italy, who had gone through a period of relentless persecution since the so-called Sicilian riots, have come out unscathed and stronger than ever, as each succeeding election has shown, despite all the repressive measures and wholesale disfranchisement of the workers by the Crispi government. And when at last the felon Crispi fell in disgrace, in consequence of the awful disaster and fiasco of the Abyssinian adventure, inaugurated by him, the Socialists of Italy and all others with them rejoiced; the more so because his fall was the prelude to the liberation of the band of brave comrades who had been wrongfully imprisoned by him.

"Thus wherever we look, we see the Socialist movement forging ahead, in England as in France, in Belgium, Germany, Austria, Italy and the Scandinavian countries.

"Even in far-off Australia, even in Argentina, our comrades are sowing the seed, and who knows but what the latest participant in the

imperialist St. Vitus' dance—Japan—may not soon witness the first manifestation of the spirit of Socialism. Even the Japs may take it into their heads to try to cultivate that everywhere "foreign" idea, no matter if the capitalists of that country and their hired scribblers do denounce it as 'un-Japanese.'

"Such are the gains Socialism has made all over the world, and such are its prospects for future advancement; but while we may well be exultant at seeing our cause move forward, it is fitting that we should also make mention of a loss which the Socialists of all countries have sustained—the death of Frederick Engels.

"After a life of many years of prolific work for the cause that had outlined his whole personality, Frederick Engels has joined his mate and co-worker, Carl Marx.

THE SITUATION AT HOME.

"When after this brief review of the situation abroad, we turn to our own country and look back these three years, we can attest steady and healthy progress. Our organization has grown, we have gained a foothold in many places where we had none before, and many more States are now ready to unfurl the banner of the S. L. P. than we could muster in 1892.

"And what is of equal, if not greater importance, there has been a visible growth of confidence among workmen in general in the future of our party and of our movement, as is evidenced by the reception our speakers and agitators have found almost everywhere.

"Owing to the fact that the National Executive Committee, for reasons to be explained later, has been in a more fortunate position financially than ever before, there has been a greater amount of agitation carried on. The tours of Comrades Frank Gessner, Martha Moore Avery, J. Wilson Becker (who is now again on a tour out West), Daniel De Leon and Lucien Sanial, in English, and those of Max Forker and Alexander Jonas in German, have been conducive to very good results in many respects.

"So far as organization is concerned, we desire to say that much credit is due for the splendid work done in that line by Comrade Max Forker, who has organized a great number of sections in various States and greatly extended the influence and the connections of the party. Very good work has also been done by J. Wilson Becker in the State of Pennsylvania, where he has organized a number of sections.

"As may be supposed, not all of the sections so organized could maintain themselves after the agitator had left, but enough of them have come to stay to make this work exceedingly valuable, to say nothing of the fact that even in places where the sections cannot be upheld there is usually some one left who keeps alive the spark, ready to leap into a flame as soon as the time is ripe, or a few energetic men take hold.

"Quite recently a Polish agitator, Comrade Karol Dolski, has been making a tour through a number of Western and Eastern States, evidently with remarkable success. This agitation was undertaken by our Polish comrades in New York, in conjunction with the Polish Agitation Committee of London, England, and Comrade Dolski was sent to America for a few months for the express purpose of drawing the Polish workers into the movement, building up organizations among them and paving the way for a Polish Socialist paper.

"Outside of these tours over a great range of territory, the agitation connected with the conduct of our campaigns is not to be underrated. Our speakers are then taxed to their utmost, and the activity of our comrades in spreading literature, preparing for meetings and agitating in the one hundred and one ways that are open to a zealous Socialist, goes far to enlist new recruits for the cause.

"Most auspicious is the political situation this year for a substantial advance of our movement.

"It begins to look as though at last economic conditions would assert themselves in the political field to the extent of shaping party formations in accordance with these conditions, and would bring out into full view the class antagonism inherent in capitalist society. The time-worn tariff issue seems to be played out, much to the sorrow of capitalist politicians, who never had a better means of bedazzling the minds of workmen; of arraying them in hostile camps and of diverting their attention from their own class interests by the noise of a battle between two sets of capitalist interests.

"The political results of the growing pressure brought to bear by the large capitalists upon the middle class, bids far to burst asunder the 'party of Jeffersonian principles.' While the larger portion of it will take up the cudgels for that middle class, the other portion may not be strong and numerous enough to paddle its own canoe, and may seek refuge in the haven of the party of capitalism par excellence, the 'G. O. P.'

"The events that are to come after the Socialist Labor Party has placed its Presidential ticket in the field, may not shape things in exactly the way outlined above, but enough will come true to give us a field full of opportunities for Socialist propaganda and rife with promises for substantial growth.

"The People's Party will have the wind taken out of its sails by the silver development in the Democratic camp; it will be stripped of its Socialistic pretensions as soon as there is a chance to attain increased strength along the lines of its true character as a middle class movement; it will cease to stand in our way and hinder the growth of our party in Western States, where the allurement held out by Populist politicians served to give them quite a large following from among the working class. The lines will be drawn much clearer and more distinct, and it will be easier for men to know on what side of the fence they really belong.

"The rest will be taken care of by the S. L. P., and it will to an extent take care of itself.

"When we leave this political aspect of the situation and glance at the economic phase of the labor movement, we find that that particular back-number form of a labor organization, the pure and simple trade union, has about reached the end of its tether. If in the report of the Brooklyn Executive Committee to the Convention in Chicago in 1893, it could be said that: 'The implicit faith in the possibility of guarding their material interests by means of purely economic organizations and action, hitherto exhibited by so many American workmen, is on the wane,' it can now be said with equal force that this faith is about gone. The ever-growing power of concentrated capital has made short work of it.

"The pure and simple union is no longer an organization that even pretends to better the condition of its members by fighting the boss, who seeks to lower that condition. Instead of the capitalist, it is content to fight the poor devil of a fellow worker who happens to be out of work. Instead of being a militant class-conscious organization, ever watchful of the interests of the workers and ever ready to battle against conditions that tend to degrade them, it has been reduced and has reduced itself to a mere benevolent organization, doling out charities for sick and death benefits, thus taking upon itself the functions of an ambulance service on the industrial battlefield, taking care of the wounded, burying the dead and stripping itself of all other functions.

"Thus, if they do not combat capitalism, they at least succeed in hiding a good deal of the ravages of the capitalist system and to that extent relieve capitalist society from the responsibility of caring for its victims.

"While there may be a good deal of virtue in that, yet it may be asked whether that is the mission of a labor organization and whether labor organizations are to be formed for such a purpose. When viewed

from the standpoint of the class interests of labor, it would seem that the only beneficiaries of these 'benefit' organizations are that pestiferous crew—the labor fakirs—who grow fat on the backs of their dupes; the very fellows who are ever ready to raise the cry: 'No politics in the trade union!' while hobnobbing with capitalist politicians and striving with might and main for a snug berth of their own by the grace of one or the other of the capitalist political parties.

"But the class antagonism in modern capitalist society will sometimes bring about collisions between the opposing forces, despite the humility, the subservience and the cowardice of the pure and simple unions. When they do, the political supremacy of the capitalist class, created and backed up by the votes of the workers themselves, soon asserts itself with disastrous effect.

"Most of the important strikes within the last four years occurred in the railroad business; the A. R. U., or Pullman strike, in 1894, and the trolley strikes in Brooklyn, Philadelphia, and quite recently in Milwaukee.

"But the capitalists in each case were safely sheltered; they had at their disposal an enormous army of unemployed, courts, judges, injunctions, bayonets, clubs and prisons, and they used all of these. The end was defeat, destruction of the organizations, demoralization of the workers, and the—blacklist.

"But there has appeared a silver lining to these black clouds; the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance is born. To the superficial observer it may seem that this organization was formed only because of the reeking corruption among the general officers of the once powerful Order of the Knights of Labor.

"Yet this was only an incident, the lever as it were, to relieve and not free the pent-up disgust of so many workers with the inactivity, the impotence of the fakir-ridden older organizations.

"The reaction among thinking workmen against that element and its methods was inevitable, and now that it has come, it is to be hoped that the National Convention of our party will utter itself in no uncertain language upon this new departure and by an emphatic endorsement of the S. T. & L. A. will give notice to the labor fakir that he had better stand from under, thus making it clear to all that the Socialists and the new trade unionists have joined hands and are coming, determined to put an end to and tear down that artificial barrier between the economic and political phase of the American labor movement, which has too long served as a means not only to prevent the working class from using all the weapons at its command in the struggle with the capitalist class, but also prevent it from using the most potent and most effective one—the Socialist ballot.

"As is the case every time an important step is to be taken, there are some in our own ranks who would favor a faint-hearted and non-committal attitude on the part of the party, fearing, as it seems, that a firm and decided stand would involve us in conflicts. These seem to forget that the whole Socialist movement is the child of conflict, born of a struggle and in its whole make-up a militant movement if it is anything. Are we, therefore, as Socialists, when determining upon a policy to be pursued, to ask ourselves first of all whether such policy may involve us in conflicts; or is the question, whether such policy is best adapted to advance our cause, the question to determine our course, conflicts or no conflicts?

"The answer should lie near at hand.

THE PARTY ORGANIZATION—STATE COMMITTEES.

"At this writing the party has State organizations in California, Connecticut, Illinois, Iowa, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Rhode Island.

"In Missouri a State organization was also formed at a time when

there were sections in various cities and towns of the State, but all of these, except St. Louis, have dissolved, and it remains for the Convention to provide in our constitution how such cases are to be governed in the future as regards the privilege accorded to State organizations.

"A great impetus was no doubt given to the State organizations by the introduction of the new system of collecting dues under which the State Committees share the per capita of 10 cents with the National Executive Committee for every due stamp sold within the State.

"This system was suggested by the National Executive Committee because the growth of the party made it necessary that State committees, in order to be of any use, should have a fixed revenue and be brought into more direct touch with the sections.

"A general vote, called for by several sections, adopted the plan, which has been in operation since October 1, 1894. It was understood, however, that it would be left to the next National Convention to embody this system into our constitution.

"Reports from the various State Committees have been called for, as to the operation of the system in their respective States. Such reports should be turned over to the Committee on Organization, with instructions to present to the Convention a set of regulations for the guidance of State Committees, the present provisions of our constitution being rather meager in that respect.

THE SECTIONS.

"The sections, ranged according to States, show up as follows: New York State, 40 sections; New Jersey, 27; Massachusetts, 26; Pennsylvania, 18; Connecticut, 14; Illinois, 15; Ohio, 11; California, 6; Minnesota, 5; Iowa, 4; Michigan, 4; New Hampshire, 4; Rhode Island, 4; Nebraska, 4; Indiana, 3; Maine, 3; Colorado, 2; Delaware, 2; Kentucky, 2; Georgia, 1; Maryland, 1; Missouri, 1; Texas, 1; Vermont, 1; Wisconsin 1. Total, 200 sections in 25 different States, as against 113 sections reported to the Chicago Convention in 1893.

"The membership is rather difficult to ascertain—first, because of its fluctuations, and secondly, because a great many members are at any given time out of work. These, as a rule, pay no dues while not working; hence the sale of stamps does not furnish a very reliable standard to calculate the membership by, but it may be safely put at between five and six thousand.

"There were some sections located in Canada, attached to our party for a time (in Montreal, London, Toronto and Rat Portage), but recently our Canadian comrades have organized a National Executive Committee of their own and launched the latest addition to the Socialist movement of the world, the Socialist Labor Party of Canada. Long may it live!

"All things considered, we may well be pleased with the steady growth of our party as an organization, and we have still more reason to be pleased with the growth of our movement, as expressed by the ever rising number of votes that are being cast for the Socialist Labor Party and all that this implies.

"In 1894 the party, as it stands to-day, scored its first victory at the ballot box in the city of Paterson, N. J., where Comrade Matthew Maguire was elected a member of the Board of Aldermen.

"In 1896 the Eighth ward of Paterson showed its good sense by repeating the experiment and re-electing Comrade Maguire with an increased majority.

"In Holyoke, Mass., Comrade Connor was elected a member of the City Council, and it is now safe to predict that within the next few years we shall hear of more Socialist victories, the cheering news of which will gladden the hearts of our comrades everywhere and spur them to renewed efforts.

"Outside of these incidents, there is the very gratifying growth of the Socialist vote in the cities of New York and Brooklyn, where it grew

in New York city in one year from 6,000 to 11,000, and in Brooklyn from 5,700 to nearly 6,000.

"Evidently the lesson of the Brooklyn trolley strike was not wholly lost upon the workers; some had seen the beast of capitalism in its true form, divested of all its allurements, and, heeding the lesson, they voted the Socialist ticket. In the interior of the State the party did not fare quite so well. While some places showed an increase, others fell off, even where we had sections, and in unorganized districts the falling off was very marked, due, no doubt, to the fact that in many instances the canvassers, with nothing to hinder them, counted our ballots as scattered, instead of crediting them to our vote.

"In Pennsylvania our organization has been much improved by the formation of new sections, principally in Luzerne and Westmoreland Counties. In the former County some ground has again been lost, owing in a great measure to the extreme poverty of the miners who furnished the membership of these sections. To properly build up the movement among these mine workers, it would be necessary to station a good agitator among them for some time, until some men could be developed to take charge of affairs.

"In Allegheny County, where for a time the party had almost disappeared, and where the condition of the movement seemed utterly hopeless, a change has taken place for the better and active work is now being done.

"The vote of Pennsylvania at the last election fell below the figures of the year before, and this must be charged to the absolute inactivity and almost incredible indifference of the State Committee then in charge. So flagrant had been their neglect of duty, that Section Philadelphia, where the State Committee is located, felt called upon to remove and completely reorganize it. Since then it appears that better work is being done, and Pennsylvania has now all the chance in the world to retrieve the losses sustained by a good round vote this fall.

"One of the States that have but recently entered the Socialist column is New Hampshire. At first there was but one German section at Manchester, which was later followed by an American section in the same city. Then came Dover and Concord, and a State Committee was formed. It is safe to predict that considering the material our New Hampshire comrades seem to be made of, that State will give a good account of itself when next November it will cast its maiden vote under the banner of Socialism.

"Then there is California, where we have made remarkable progress within a very short time. For a number of years we had but two cities organized in the whole State, and there seemed to be no break anywhere. But then came Oakland, followed after a while by San José, San Diego and Santa Cruz in rapid succession. A State Committee has been organized recently and is now in working order. An effort will be made to overcome all legal obstacles in the shape of ballot laws that discriminate against smaller parties and to put an electoral ticket in the field. That done, we may look to California as having entered for good the list of States where a Socialist election is a matter of course.

"Ohio is another State where, as in Pennsylvania, a determined effort was made to gain a foothold among the miners, and where for much the same reasons that are given for Luzerne County, Pa., most of the sections formed could not be maintained, though, of course, there has been ever since a considerable Socialist sentiment. It would help the party very much if an economic organization, based upon Socialist principles, was to take hold of the miners first and prepare them for political work; and right here there is a splendid opening for the S. T. & L. A.

"Our experience has been that among the miners our agitators find ready listeners and much sympathy. But there is absolutely no money to be found among them to maintain an organization on a purely political basis, for, much as they may sympathize, they evidently do

not care to spend much from their scant earnings for a thing that seems so far off to them.

"The economic organization, however, which takes up for them the fight of to-day and to-morrow could draw them into the Socialist movement and keep them there.

"Outside of the mining regions the organization in Ohio is in good condition. Cincinnati, which had for so long a time been a hotbed of dissension and wholly in the hands of the dissensionists, has at last been redeemed.

"The German sections that were organized there were invariably destroyed by these men, who came to the meetings, quarreled, and disgusted and repelled new members. But later on a Jewish section was organized, followed by an American one. During March, 1896, Comrade De Leon was invited by them to stay in Cincinnati for a whole week. This was done, with the most gratifying results. The reputation of the party, which had for so long a time been at the mercy of a gang of slanderers and falsifiers of that city, was redeemed, and when shortly after Comrade Forker came to Cincinnati, he found that the honest element, so long misled, was ready to turn their backs upon their misleaders and to swing into line.

"In Toledo, where the former German section had to be suspended, for reasons to be explained later on, there is now an active and pushing American section, which has taken up the fight for Socialism in good earnest; and with two Polish sections added, through the agitation of Comrade Dolski, it may be said that Toledo is now in excellent shape, in better shape indeed than it has ever been before.

"In Connecticut the number of sections has risen to 14, as against 8 in 1893. This advance has been gradual and is in large measure due to the work of an efficient and active State Committee. Last year there were no general elections in Connecticut; hence our vote could not be measured, but the State has at each successive election shown an advance.

"Massachusetts has also increased the number of her sections by 11. The vote in that State has not shown any marked progress of late, but has remained stationary.

THE PRESS.

"At all former party conventions the burden of the reports was the large deficiencies of our party organs. This is all changed now. The Executive Committee is no longer obliged to sink the greater part of its income in covering these deficits.

"The People has developed splendidly, resting now on a sound financial basis, with its circulation constantly increasing (it is now more than 6,000). It reaches out into new fields all the time, and has become a recognized power in the land.

"A short time ago the idea was conceived to still further and more rapidly increase its circulation and its influence by reducing the subscription price to 50 cents a year. A circular was addressed to the sections for the purpose of getting their opinions and to see whether they would guarantee support for the period of transition and until the loss was made good by an increased subscription list.

"While a great number of sections favored the plan and promised support, yet there were so many opposing it for various reasons, that the matter was left undecided.

"As our movement grows, there arises also a growing desire for a daily Socialist paper. The outcome of this desire has been the starting of a Daily People Fund, for which the sum of \$1,283.91 has so far been collected. No extraordinary efforts have as yet been made for this fund; all are looking to this Convention in a way, to give a new impetus to the collections by its endorsement, if, after due deliberation, it is thought that the time is ripe to make the attempt.

"In regard to the 'Vorwärts,' our German party organ, a change had to be made owing to the fact that the paper in its old shape could be maintained only at an enormous sacrifice. So large were the sums that had to be appropriated to make both ends meet, that the Executive Committee were tied hand and foot, unable to plan and execute any refutation on a larger scale. The sections were repeatedly appealed to and urged to increase the circulation, but it was all in vain.

"Instead of growth there was decline, until the circulation had sunk to about 1,500, while the deficit had risen to about \$30.00 per week. When it was plainly to be seen that we could not possibly go on in this way, unless we were ready to sink nearly every dollar that came in, the Executive Committee concluded, after having sent out another fruitless appeal, not to begin the new volume around November, 1894, but to make instead an arrangement with the Socialist Co-operative Publishing Association, by adopting the weekly edition of the New York 'Volks-Zeitung' as the party organ.

"This was done, the weekly assuming the name 'Vorwärts,' while in all other respects the same agreement was entered into as exists between the party and the Publishing Association in regard to 'The People,' viz., the National Executive Committee of the party and the Board of Directors of the Publishing Association jointly electing the editor. In case of disagreement between these two bodies upon the choice of an editor, the party alone decides by general vote.

"The party was thus relieved of a pressing burden; the sections were supplied with a large eight-page paper, for which it was not difficult to obtain new subscribers, and the number of subscribers to whom the paper goes is now 5,000, instead of 1,500.

"When the change was made, there were some sections that protested, while others approved of it. Upon the whole it may be said that at the present time the number of those who clearly realize that it would be most unwise to go back to the old condition is vastly greater than when the change was made.

"A growing party like ours cannot afford to almost bleed itself to death and to forego almost all other agitation, in an attempt to maintain a non-supporting paper, when there is an opportunity to utilize another under absolute Socialist control and without any cost whatever.

"Moreover, we found that when our financial reports were sent to the sections, during the time when they showed the heavy appropriations made for the 'Vorwärts,' some American sections found fault with the Executive Committee for expending so large a portion of the funds for such a purpose.

"Still another paper has been added to the list of official organs of the party, namely, the Jewish 'Arbeiter-Zeitung,' a weekly published in New York city.

"The paper was declared a party organ on the recommendation of the Board of Arbitration, which had been appointed by the National Executive Committee at the request of the Convention of Jewish Socialists held in New York city from December 28th, 1893, to January 2d, 1896.

"This Convention found itself hopelessly entangled in factional strife about the control and management of the Jewish Socialist papers, unable to settle the trouble, it adopted a resolution calling for the creation of a Board of Arbitration, to be appointed by the National Executive Committee, the decision of which was to be final and binding upon all concerned. The Board appointed on this understanding and on these pledges, sat through 18 sessions, heard all the evidence presented by both sides to the controversy, to wit: A committee representing the Jewish convention, on the one hand, and another committee representing the side of the Publishing Association, an organization of Jewish Socialists formed for the purpose of issuing Socialist publications in the Jewish language.

"After much deliberation and laborious work, the Board rendered a

unanimous decision which has been published in 'The People,' and which recommended among other things that the editorial management of the 'Arbeiter-Zeitung' be placed under party control, and that it be made an official organ.

"Outside of these papers, there have been added to the list of Socialist papers since our last Convention, the weekly 'Arbeiteren,' organ of out Scandinavians comrades, and the 'Volks-Tribun,' a weekly which appears in the Dutch language and is published by the Dutch Socialists of Grand Rapids. For a short time there existed also an Italian paper, 'Avanti,' which was at first published in Philadelphia, but afterwards removed to New York. It could not, however, be maintained, there being as yet not enough of a movement among Italian workmen to carry the paper along.

"The Polish paper 'Swiatlo,' which existed at the time of the last Convention, had also to be discontinued, but with the recent revival of Socialist agitation among the Poles, our comrades of that nationality expect to be soon in a position to again have a paper in the field.

"In San Francisco there appeared for a time two papers, the 'Coming Age' and the 'Socialist.' The former discontinued after a short life, while the latter had to be repudiated by our section because of its 'Christian Socialist' tendencies.

"As to the German Socialist papers of the country, there has really been no change except that in Pittsburgh, Pa., the weekly 'Volkszeitung' had to be discontinued, but in its stead there is now another paper, the 'Pittsburgher Echo.'

"Our Jewish comrades in New York have, however, launched a most successful daily—the 'Abendblatt'—a one-cent paper which has now a circulation of 15,000.

"In connection with this chapter of the report, we must now approach a most unpleasant subject. It is the role which another professed Socialist paper, the 'St. Louis Labor,' has played during the last two years.

"At the Chicago Convention, in 1893, one of the delegates from St. Louis, Comrade Sanderson, who was at that time the editor of the paper, introduced a resolution to the effect that the Convention endorse the work of the Socialist Newspaper Union, and that the National Executive Committee should aid the same.

"The resolution was adopted unanimously. It may be safely assumed that the bulk of the delegates present at the Convention and voting for the resolution, did not suspect the kind of interpretation that was to be put upon it, but did so vote under the impression that it would promote an amicable understanding, harmonious work, and, above all, sound Socialist propaganda.

"In the early part of 1894, the Executive Committee communicated with St. Louis with a view to ascertain how their system of local editions was carried on and to introduce that system with 'The People,' if possible. The information received seemed to show that we could not very well and successfully adopt that system, because we had not the facilities that were given in St. Louis, where the Populist movement had created an establishment that was grinding out alleged local papers by the wholesale. But while this correspondence was still on, there appeared suddenly an article in 'Labor,' headed: 'Common Sense! Comrades!' wherein a proposition was made, the essence of which was to discontinue 'The People' and in its stead adopt 'Labor' as the official organ of the party.

"We received a letter from St. Louis containing the same proposition, but it came simultaneously with the issue of 'Labor' containing the foregoing article. Thus all further discussion upon the matter was cut off; St. Louis had come out into the open, had shown its hand and had proclaimed to the party how it wanted the Chicago resolution to be understood.

"The Executive Committee realized that something had to be done, that its position in regard to the proposition had to be defined, and

deeming the preservation of 'The People' a matter of far greater importance to the party and the movement, than the real or fancied intolerance of those who stood behind 'Labor,' we issued a circular to the sections, warning them against any scheme looking towards the discontinuance of 'The People' and setting forth the necessity of maintaining for our propaganda an organ of superior qualities.

"From that time on began the campaign of abuse, slander and vilification that has intermittently been waged in the columns of 'Labor' against the National Executive Committee, 'The People' and the comrades of New York in general, this being at times the foremost and leading feature of that publication.

"The campaign was conducted by innuendo, insinuation and direct attack, in editorial articles and outside communications, many of the latter coming from outspoken enemies of the party. 'Labor' became the organ of all who had, or thought they had, a grievance against New York, and it became also a sort of side organ to what is known as the 'Cleveland' or the 'perambulating faction,' a small number of malcontents who call themselves the Socialist Labor Party of America and of whom we shall speak later on.

"The Executive Committee realized fully, and had ample opportunity to see, the evil effects of this state of affairs. Whenever a new field was opened by the party, 'Labor' entered it and sought to poison the minds of the newly-won comrades, not only against the efficiency, but also against the integrity of the party's management. Many local conflicts, connected with much bitterness and personal friction, may be ascribed to its work and its spirit of acrimony. There are even cases where the decline of certain sections can be traced to this and to the fact that a so-called local edition of 'Labor' had sapped their energies and had absorbed their funds in a vain endeavor to go beyond the limits of the possible.

"Yet we never answered in kind and in public print, principally because we considered it unwise to give a public exhibition of an internal quarrel and because we did not wish to fill the pages of 'The People' with matter that would only stand in the way and hinder the work for which 'The People' had been called into being.

"But when in 1895, 'Labor,' under the editorial management of G. A. Hoeft, reached the pink of perfection in the art of scolding, and was trying to fructify certain troubles which Section New York had with some members who inclined towards Populism, the Executive Committee came to the conclusion that it was time to call a halt.

"A circular was issued making reply to the many wild, unfounded and venomous charges of 'Labor' and wherein the members of the party were called upon to put a stop to these disgraceful proceedings, so far as it lay within their power. That circular had the effect of ending the indecent manifestations of open hostility hitherto displayed, and 'Labor' has since confined itself to a policy of veiled attack.

"But this is not all, for the paper has been injurious to those into whose hands it has fallen. Articles conveying false economic theories, false tactics and such matter as capitalist papers could use to mislead the working class, have been frequent enough in its columns to deprive it of the right to call itself a Socialist paper.

"It will be the mission of this Convention to find a way that will make impossible a repetition of this kind of thing, so injurious to the movement and so well calculated to hamper our growth as a party. We can well stand all the abuse heaped upon us by enemies from without, but to have a professed Socialist paper, and one that demands the support of the Socialist movement, indulge in practices that no self-respecting foe would resort to, is more than can be tolerated, all hypocritical pleas for the right of 'free speech' and 'fair criticism' to the contrary notwithstanding. The right of free speech and the right to express opinion do by no means imply a right to vilify, to distort facts and to thus sow discord and carry suspicion into the ranks of the party.

"There are also complaints coming from Section Louisville, Ky., which throw a side light upon another side of this case, i. e., the unscrupulousness of the methods employed by 'Labor' in foisting upon Louisville a 'local edition' and calling it the 'Official Organ of Section Louisville,' despite the repeated protests of that section.

"Section Louisville demanded from the Executive Committee a rectification, which could not be given, because we knew by previous experience that it would be worse than useless to appeal to Section St. Louis for redress.

"The Section then decided to appeal to the Convention for the protection of its rights.

OTHER PARTY MATTERS.

"We now come to a series of concurrences within the party that grew out of and were more or less connected with the sickly sentiment which still exists here and there in our ranks in regard to what is now known as the 'Cleveland faction' and used to be known under a number of other names.

"To the Chicago Convention a complete report was given of the attempt that was made in 1892, to end this quarrel, but was frustrated by the breach of faith on the part of the 'faction,' which refused to abide by the result of a general vote, when that result was not to their liking. And it was the Chicago Convention which, although it extended one more invitation to the 'faction' to join the party, did adopt a provision to be inserted in the constitution according to which every section connected with a State organization had also to be connected with the National organization.

"This provision, so necessary for the building up of a well-knit organization of the party, was disregarded by the Ohio State Committee located at Toledo. When a State Convention was to be held at Cleveland on July 4th, 1894, the State Committee, in violation of this provision, permitted bodies outside the party to vote upon this question against the protest of Section Cleveland.

"The latter section then appealed to the Executive Committee, demanding the enforcement of the constitution. The Executive Committee, called upon the State Committee, but was met with a refusal on the plea that since the State Committee had been created previous to the Chicago Convention, they were not bound by its action, but had to proceed in accordance with the action taken at a State Convention held on December 26th and 27th, 1892, at Toledo.

"The State Committee having thus declared its unwillingness to abide by the constitution, Section Toledo was called upon to withdraw from the members of the committee and to prefer charges against them, a most illogical reply the Section declined to do so, declaring that although the Executive Committee were correct according to the letter of the constitution, they could not proceed according to the letter of the State organization, they could not proceed against the committee because the State organization had been formed previous to the Chicago National Convention, and because the State Committee had been elected by all sections represented at the Toledo State Convention, and was bound by its action until another Convention was held.

"Upon receiving this reply, it was decided to suspend Section Toledo. Some time thereafter the section was asked to surrender its charter in case they did not intend to appeal against the suspension. They returned in the charter, with the remark that they thought an appeal was superfluous inasmuch as they did not see how the Board of Grievances could decide otherwise than the Executive Committee had done.

"The Executive Committee, in accordance with a request from Section Cleveland, had called a State Convention to be held at Columbus on June 14th, 1894, which was attended by all sections of our party. Since then our organization in Ohio, with a clear line of action before it, has much improved, as already stated in a preceding part of the report.

"As soon as our present National Convention hove in sight, the 'factionists' on the outside and their friends on the inside of our party,

made frantic attempts to squeeze themselves to the front. Especially did they try to get into our party organs with long resolutions, wherein our party was spoken of as a faction and wherein the necessity of acceding to the dictatorial demands of an outside body was advocated.

"These attempts finally culminated in a proposition of Section Baltimore, which has always been honeycombed with such sentiment, demanding a general vote on the following question:

"The Executive Committee S. L. P. of the New York faction shall request the Executive Committee of the Cleveland faction to see to it that a committee of that faction appear at the National Convention of the New York faction for the purpose of reconciling and uniting both factions of the party."

"This proposition was indorsed by some sections of bona-fide standing and by others who had no standing at all.

"The Executive Committee was now placed in a position to either accept and submit this proposition and thereby officially drag our party down to the level of a faction, to injure its prestige, and, in view of the treachery displayed by the 'factionists' once before, to ask our sections to undergo another farce, or to deny the motion as being neither in the interest of the party as prescribed by the constitution, nor in any way calculated to work anything but injury to it.

"The Committee decided to choose the latter horn of the dilemma, and feeling that something should be done to bring this whole affair before the Convention in as prominent a form as possible, it was also prompted the refusal to submit.

"We believe that this Convention should take action that will put an end once and for all to the nagging and annoying tactics of the inside friends of these outside enemies of the party.

"Because there are in some localities a few people who are fighting the party, these men jump at the conclusion that their local troubles must at once be transferred to the whole party organization. Instead of fighting it out with them to the last ditch and thus establishing the only harmony that is at all worth having, they—either from weakness or secret collusion with the enemy—seek to pacify them, by asking the whole party to prostrate itself and invite the dictation of a pitiful few, most of whom have shown repeatedly by word and deed that they can hardly be considered valuable acquisitions to our ranks.

"We believe also, that the Convention by an unqualified indorsement of the circular reply of the Executive Committee to the Baltimore proposition, will give notice to all whom it may concern, that it too means to uphold the dignity of the party, and that the party is by no means ready to surrender to anybody. It should be plainly stated that he who is a Socialist and is willing to join the party can do so at any time, but that in doing so he must subject to its discipline and its rules and regulations, but with perfect liberty to agitate in a legitimate way for any change he may desire.

"Experience has shown that the only solution to this vexatious question is to kill every ray of hope that the party will ever be found ready to submit to have any conditions forced upon it from the outside and to strictly forbid the coming Executive Committee to entertain any propositions aiming and purporting to stigmatize the party as a faction of anything.

THE SUSPENSION OF SECTION CLEVELAND.

"Local organizations, in their eagerness to build up the movement more rapidly, are sometimes apt to forget that for a party like ours the most consistent way is also the best and withal the shortest route to ultimate success. They are apt to deviate from the narrow but straight course when, apparently, there is a chance to capture something.

"Thus it happened in Cleveland. The section there, when a political conference was called by the Central Labor Union of that city, sent delegates to that conference, as did also the Populists, Prohibitionists, and a number of labor organizations.

"A municipal ticket was nominated under the name of Independent Labor Party, and owing to the efforts of our comrades the conference adopted almost word for word the platform of our party.

"The ticket, however, was by no means a Socialist ticket, and the whole affair could not be looked upon in any other way than a compromise with other political parties, and a plain violation of that clause of our constitution which says that 'no section shall enter into any compromise with any other political party'.

"There being no way of mistaking the meaning of that clause, the National Executive Committee was forced to suspend the section.

"Section Cleveland thereupon appealed from the decision of the committee to the Board of Grievances and was restored, the suspension being lifted on the ground that the spread of the ideas of Socialism was more rapid than the organization of our party, and that Cleveland had fused with workmen who, though not Socialists, were in sympathy with Socialist principles.

"This, it seems to us, is a rather dangerous practice, which, if sustained, is fraught with serious complications for the future.

"It is clear that if the policy of the party is to be shaped according to the decidedly vague notions of Socialism entertained by a multitude of workmen who consider themselves sympathizers; so that the party will have to follow them through the whole labyrinth of errors in which they are certain to wander before reaching light, then we might as well give up the idea of having any fixed policy at all.

"While the Convention cannot possibly utter itself upon the question of compromise any more distinctly than is done by the constitution, there should be a passing of judgment upon that decision, so that it be made known to all what the S. L. P. means by forbidding a compromise. To let the decision stand as it is will not do, there being danger of it being used as a precedent in future cases of a similar nature.

"Another decision of the Board of Grievances in which the Executive Committee is concerned, is that of an appeal taken by German Section Syracuse against the decision of the committee sustaining the editor of the 'Vorwärts' in editing out of a communication of the organizer a portion which we held was insulting to the members of Section New York, and unduly interfered with their rights of membership. It was thought that to print such an attack would inevitably lead to a rejoinder in kind, and the result would be a bitter wrangle between two sections in our party organs.

"The Board of Grievances sustained the Syracuse section, and in its decision ordered the objectionable portion printed in 'The People'.

"This decision seemed so much out of keeping with the appeal of the Syracuse section, to say nothing of the general merits of the case, that the Executive Committee decided to appeal from the decision of the Board to the National Convention on the following three points:

"(1) That the decision unduly curtails the prerogative of an editor and compels him against better judgment to print matter which may be prompted by mere prejudice and antipathy, and which in this concrete case would have engendered bad feeling between two sections of the party.

"(2) That the decision orders the contested portion to be printed in 'The People', though 'The People' had nothing whatever to do with the whole controversy.

"(3) That the decision has been voted for by a minority of the Board of Grievances, only five of its members voting upon the case, and the vote cast being 3 for and 2 against.

"We hold that the Board to all intents and purposes is a court of appeals, to which the rules of a quorum that hold good for ordinary

meetings do not apply, and since the Board is composed of seven members it would require four votes for a majority.

"Upon these grounds the Executive Committee appeals from the decision of the Board and requests the Convention to investigate and hear the evidence of this case.

ABOLITION OF THE AGITATION ASSESSMENT.

"The Chicago Convention, with the most laudable desire to increase the funds of the Executive Committee and to enable it to do more effective work, had decided that semi-annual agitation assessments of 25 cents each be levied, payable in January and July of each year. This was confirmed by general vote, and an attempt made to call in the first of these assessments after January 1st, 1894, at the very height of the industrial crisis.

It was the most difficult task the Executive Committee ever undertook and we found it simply impossible in many cases, to collect. Some sections declared that to try and collect would be equal to annihilating the organization, because members could not pay for the reason that they had nothing to pay with, and it was all they could do to collect regular dues from at least a portion of the members.

"The latter assessments—July, 1894, and January, 1895—were equally difficult to collect. The whole matter had become a drag upon the party, when Section New Haven submitted a proposition for a general vote to abolish those assessments, which was carried.

"The experience gained shows that this method of raising funds is certainly not the best that can be devised.

"It is certain that in case of an emergency an appeal to our sections to raise funds by voluntary contributions would yield far more than any assessment, with the additional advantage that it will be in itself an agitation, whereas an assessment really acts as a check upon the growth of membership, whereby a part of what is gained in one way is lost in another.

"Viewed in this light the conclusion is inevitable that regular assessments in our organization are a mistake, and that we had better steer clear of them, for, although we are firmly enough organized, we are at the same time a body of volunteers with whom that method of raising funds will work but poorly.

ESTABLISHMENT OF A CENTRAL PRESS ASSOCIATION.

"This was also referred to the Executive Committee by the Chicago Convention. It was thought in Chicago that the sum of \$4,000 might suffice for that purpose, but when the matter was approached, it was found that \$4,000 would not begin to cover the amount needed to establish an efficient plant, to say nothing of all other requirements for the proper execution of the plan.

"The Executive Committee discussed the plan repeatedly, but could not see their way clear to raise even the amount of \$4,000 without seriously impairing the general agitation for which there was an ever growing demand.

"Shortly after the Chicago Convention had adjourned, the crisis came upon us; banks broke, factories shut down, thousands upon thousands of toilers were thrown out of work—in short, we had once more a graphic illustration of capitalism having overburdened its stomach and throwing its whole industrial mechanism into disorder and confusion. It was the time when various 'generals' led various 'industrial armies' through the country to Washington, in the vain hope that a petition in 'boots' would impress capitalist politicians more than ordinary petitions are known to do.

"Under such circumstances it was plainly impossible to raise so much money for such a purpose, the less so because the situation demanded that we try our utmost to fructify it by intensifying our agitation, and to

bring home to as many workers as we could reach, the object lessons furnished by that situation.

"And we believe that even to-day it is too early to attempt to undertake such a task.

"We believe that the only thing worthy of extraordinary effort on these lines is the establishment of a Socialist daily in the English language, as soon as the time will be deemed ripe for such a move.

"In order to stir our comrades to action and have them pitch in with a will to collect funds, there must above all things be a pressing need for the object in view felt all around.

"This is manifestly the case with an English daily; it is, however, not so with the other plan.

CONCLUSION.

"This, delegates to the Convention, is the report we have to make to you of our work during these three years.

"So much has occurred during that space of time that it would be impossible to record it all, but enough has been said to make it plain that our party and our cause are marching on.

"When we cast a glance over the past, we find that though there have been some squabbles and some friction, such as are likely to occur in a movement that has a future before it and is pushing ahead towards it, there has also been progress and a growth from which we can draw renewed strength. And when we look at the present, or when we try to penetrate the veil of the future, we find a field big with promise of a good harvest, waiting to be tilled.

"But with the inexorable logic of their system, our very foes are paving the way for our movement; one prop after another is crumbling from under that system, and the day when the whole structure will come down, the day that will witness the triumph of Socialism, may be nearer at hand than most of us dare to hope.

"And as we place our functions back into the hands of the party, we do so feeling that with the means at our command we have done the best our ability permitted us to do.

"We have tried most strongly to preserve that clear-cut, uncompromising class character of our movement, which we believe is the only sound foundation to build upon, and we have sternly resisted all wobbling attempts at 'broadening' the so-called narrow-minded and bigoted policy of the S. L. P.

"It now rests with you, delegates of the Convention, to approve or disapprove, to indorse or to repudiate that policy, but in passing judgment upon it you will bear in mind that to-day there is for the whole labor movement of America but one rallying point that looms up in the darkness, but one haven in the sea of despond—the Socialist Labor Party.

"Owing to that policy and its closer enunciation of the principle of the proletarian class struggle, the movement has maintained its correct poise, and as we are pressing onward, with our crimson banner flung to the breeze, bidding defiance to our foes and welcome to our friends, we are what we should be—America's militant Social Democracy.

"With fraternal greeting,

"THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE S. L. P.

"CHARLES B. COPP,

"CHARLES FRANZ,

"ADOLF JABLONOWSKY,

"CHARLES LUCK,

"WILLIAM N. REED,

"HENRY STAHL,

"AUGUST WALDINGER,

"HENRY KUHN, Secretary."

Moved to approve the report as read.

Delegate Sievermann moved an amendment that the report shall be received and placed on file.

Amendment to the amendment offered that the report be received and its various parts be referred to the various committees to which the same respectively relate.

Delegate Fry moved a substitute that the report be received, placed on file and a printed copy given each delegate as soon as possible. Lost.

Vote taken on the amendment to the amendment. Carried. Vote taken on the amendment, as amended. Carried.

Moved and seconded that the Convention adjourn. Lost.

Moved and seconded that Cushing's Manual be adopted as the parliamentary authority of this body. Carried.

The tellers appointed by the chair to canvass the vote cast for members of the Press Committee reported as follows:

Total number of votes cast, 82. Sanial, 63; Jonas, 57; Brophy, 51; Sanderson, 46; Ibsen, 42; Reinstein, 39; Pellenz, 33; Balkam, 26; Bennett, 22; Gordon, 21; De Leon, 4; Murphy, 1. Delegates Sanial, Jonas, Brophy, Sanderson and Ibsen were thereupon declared elected.

The Convention then passed a resolution severely denouncing the New York "Staatszeitung" for its slanderous attack upon Delegate Sanial in its report of the mass-meeting held on the previous evening and at which the said delegate presided.

The Secretary read a number of telegrams received from the following organizations who strongly expressed their devotion to the cause of International Socialism, and the interest they felt in the proceedings of the Convention:

The Social Students of the University of Minnesota; the Socialist Singers, assembled at New Haven, for the celebration of their first national festival; Section Minneapolis, S. L. P.; Workmen's Sick and Benefit Fund, Branch 1; Section Pittsburgh, S. L. P.; Section Buffalo (American), S. L. P.; Section Buffalo (German), S. L. P.; Local Alliance 68, S. T. & L. A., (Clothing Cutters and Trimmers) New York; Socialists of California; Section Milwaukee, S. L. P.; Section Chicago, S. L. P.; Scandinavian Cooperative Socialist Publishing Association; Socialists of Guttenberg, N. J.; Boston Jewish Section, S. L. P.; Seventh Assembly District, S. L. P., New York; Russian Social Democratic Society; Polish Section, Trenton, N. J.; Children Jacketmakers of Brooklyn; Section Cleveland, S. L. P.; Essex County Socialist Club, Newark, N. J.; Socialist Literary Society, New York; the joint Jewish Branch Sections of New York City; Twelfth Assembly District, S. L. P., New York; Thirty-fourth and Thirty-fifth Assembly Districts, S. L. P., New York; Section New York, S. L. P.; Section Yonkers, S. L. P.; West Side Assembly Districts, S. L. P., New York.

The Convention then adjourned.

SECOND DAY'S SESSION.

Sunday, July 5th, 1896.

The Convention met at 9 a. m. Delegate De Leon was elected chairman for the day.

Delegates Krumroy, Fry and Wilson were nominated as vice-chairman for the day. Delegate Wilson declined.

Moved that the vote be taken by ballot. Carried.

Delegates Bennetts, Boether and Pellenz were appointed as tellers and reported as follows:

Total number of votes cast, 60: Krumroy, 30; Fry, 30. The vote being a tie, a new ballot was taken.

The tellers reported again a tie, as follows: Total number of votes cast, 66: Krumroy, 33; Fry, 33.

A rising vote was then taken with the following result: Krumroy, 34; Fry, 29. Delegate Krumroy was thereupon declared elected.

The Committee on Credentials reported Mrs. Martha Moore Avery present, with a credential from Worcester, Mass.

Delegate Konikow protested against the seating of the delegate from Worcester on the ground that she was a proxy delegate, not being a member of Section Worcester, but of American Section, Boston.

Delegate Brophy moved that the credential from Section Worcester be referred back to the Committee on Credentials to pass upon and report after giving the delegate a hearing. Seconded and carried.

On motion, a roll-call was then taken to receive resolutions for reference to the proper committees.

The Committee on Credentials reported on Comrade Martha Moore Avery's case, stating that they did not regard her admissible as a delegate, and referring the question to the Convention.

The report was received, and upon motion, by a vote of 49 to 17, the matter was referred back to the Committee on Credentials to be acted upon when Comrade Avery appears.

Moved that the report of the National Board of Grievances be heard. Carried.

The report was read by Delegate Kuhn.

Moved and seconded that an additional report of the majority of the Board of Grievances be read.

A division was asked for and the motion was lost, 38 voting for and 41 against it.

The Credential Committee reported upon Delegates E. T. Nebel, of Kings County, and A. Urison, of Cincinnati, and recommended that said comrades be seated as delegates.

The report was accepted.

Moved and carried that the chairman for each day act as

a committee of distribution of resolutions to the appropriate committees.

Recess until 2 p. m.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Committee on Rules and Regulations recommended the adoption of the following resolutions, offered by Delegate Grundy, and referred to the said committee: "That no delegate be allowed to speak more than once on any resolution, with the exception of the mover, and that no speech of any delegate shall exceed ten minutes, with the exception of the mover of any resolution, who shall be allowed five minutes to close; it being understood that this excludes the putting of the previous question so long as any delegate who has not spoken desires the floor or desires to assign his time." Carried.

Delegate Vogt stated that the chairman of the delegation from the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance was unable to attend, and requested the laying over of this matter until the following day. The request was granted.

The Convention then adjourned.

THIRD DAY'S SESSION.

Monday, July 6th, 1896.

The Convention met at 9 a. m. Delegate Watkins was elected chairman, and Delegate Kraemer vice-chairman for the day.

The privilege of the floor was granted to W. L. Brower, chairman of the delegation from the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, who announced that the statement of the said delegation would be made by Delegate Vogt. The latter comrade thereupon addressed the Convention; he said, in substance:

"The Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance is not an experiment; it is the result of a growing conviction among the wage workers that the time has come in the economic as well as in the political movement to make an end of experimenting.

"During the last twenty years the American wage workers have shifted from one position to another in their efforts to obtain some immediate improvement. They first tried the isolated union of each trade; then went into the concentrated system of the K. of L.; then turned back to the plan of independent trades, somewhat modified by a loose connection through a national federation. In each of these forms of organization they were sorely disappointed. As soon as the test came the very feature that was relied on to give strength proved an element of weakness. The weakness of the isolated trade union was evidently in the lack of solidarity between the trades. But when consolidation had been effected it was found that instead of acquiring solidarity, organized labor had merely placed itself under the autocratic rule of a centralized power. Under that despotic and corrupt rule the masses suffered defeats which they ascribed to the principle of concentration. Many went over to the American Federation of Labor. But when this organization was in turn put to the test, its distinguishing feature—the absence of centralization—made it inefficient for all practical purposes. It could give no aid to any affiliated trade, because its autonomous constituencies acted as the isolated trade unions of a former period;

one would not submit to a sacrifice for the other, and, indeed, felt no concern for any except its own members.

"In each of the three forms of organization that I have just mentioned the spirit of solidarity was wanting. As I have already observed, this absence of solidarity is the fundamental weakness of the economic labor movement. It plainly shows that the workers do not yet comprehend their position in the industrial system; that they do not see the robbery practised on them, nor the factors that make such robbery possible and constantly intensify their subjection, economic and political, to the robber class.

"Trade unionists have construed solidarity to mean an exchange of services: 'You help me to get more wages, and I assist you in turn.' But this is very far from touching the real solidarity of interest of the working class. The \$4 a day worker may be truly warned that the sinking of the level of the lower paid trades will eventually drag down his own standard of living; but, as a matter of fact, he will be little impressed by so indirect a danger. Moreover, there are many instances where the immediate interests of the workers on the labor market are directly antagonistic, for on that market the workers are competitors for an opportunity to sell their labor power. The private ownership of machinery, that compels the proletarian to sell his labor power, tends not only to remove the barriers of skill between different branches of the same industry, but also to make the tailor the competitor of the railroad man, the machinist of the shoemaker, the woman of the man, and the child of the woman.

"The system that reduces labor power to a commodity and throws an ever increasing surplus of it on the market, thus creates a law of depreciation that affects all trades and grades of labor alike. And that law cannot be combated on the trade unionist plan of 'Help me and I will help you,' because it renders all ever more powerless to help either themselves or their fellow wage workers. Its destructive action can only be stopped by the overthrow of the system of which it is the inevitable result. Thus it becomes not the reciprocal but the direct personal interest of each wage worker to overthrow that system. The tailor has an interest in its overthrow, not because it will help the machinist, and the latter may help him, but because it is his—the tailor's—own and only salvation. He will co-operate with all other trades and these again with him, because only by a combination of all can each one secure his own salvation. This identical and common interest of each and all wage workers in the overthrow of the wage system is the essence of the solidarity of labor." (Applause.)

In illustration of the extent to which the fundamental principles of class solidarity are still ignored or unknown in the organizations of labor now controlling the labor movement, the speaker quoted a passage from a pamphlet issued by the A. F. of L., in which the manufacturers and merchants are spoken of as "our fellow sufferers, with whom we would combine against bankers and landlords, but they will not." He referred also to a resolution presented at a labor meeting in Newburgh by a certain John Bogert, organizer of the A. F. of L. for New York State, and in which it is said that "the employer and workman are simply parties who exchange commodities that are equally needed" (!); that "the substance of the labor problem is the discovery and application of the just terms on which this exchange should be made" (!!); and that "labor organizations are practical means of promoting righteous and peaceful relations between the industrial factors, Capital and Labor" (!!!). The speaker then continued:

"The most ordinary action of the trade union is hopeless without the spirit of solidarity. Boycotts depend entirely upon it, and strikes very largely. I shall go further and say that the time is near when no union will be able to maintain its existence unless its members are imbued with that solidarity, which means the active soldiership in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism. The treasures that

some of the old unions have accumulated do not and will not prevent defeat. The American Flint Glass Workers' Union has for three years carried on a strike in which the sum of \$377,000 has already been expended with the usually weakening, demoralizing and destructive effects of a hopeless conflict. The carpenters and the cigarmakers hold their membership by their sick, death and out-of-work fund features. The International Typographical Union is no longer in a position to conduct any important contest successfully. The Mine Workers' Union lives a precarious existence by the boasts of its officers, ambitious politicians, who, in order to make themselves felt, have repeatedly engaged their followers in disastrous conflicts, and have always taken good care that their dupes did not go too far astray from the old political parties. It has now fewer members than belonged to one of the first miners' national unions twenty years ago, when the trade employed less than one-third of the present number of men. The organizations I have just named are the largest bodies of the A. F. of L., and constitute more than one-half of its affiliated membership.

"It must not be thought, however, that because the present trade union organization is becoming weaker and weaker, the economic struggle is getting to be a thing of the past. Figures disprove this. According to the statistics of the United States Labor Department in 1892 there were 265,000 working people engaged in strikes, whereas in 1894 the number had increased to 482,000. The fact is that the growing despotism of capitalists and the repression exercised by their political agents drive the workers into more frequent and more gigantic contests of despair; but that those contests will become more and more hopeless, more and more disastrous, unless a change is brought about by some action of the Socialists. (Great applause.)

The speaker here gave many illustrations of the reckless conduct and corrupt practices of the politicians, who, as officers or leaders, still control the labor organizations. He showed how those intriguers, those betrayers of their class, had successfully contrived to prevent the American working people from learning anything by the severe lessons which such struggles as those of Homestead, Briceville, Coeur d'Alene, Buffalo, Brooklyn, Chicago, etc., could otherwise have been expected to teach, how they used the funds of the unions, not to merely pay sick and other benefits to members, not to support men on strike, but to corruptly maintain their own power by employing agents whose chief work was to stifle Socialist agitation among the rank and file.

"Now," continued the speaker, "it seems to us that no Socialist, no man who has the interest of his class at heart, can observe with coolness the squandering of these immense sums—\$400,000 in one case, \$112,000 in another, and so on throughout these great unions—without feeling that something was neglected; without feeling that the American working class cannot be left to the mercy of the leaders it has had.

"I am aware that some of our Socialist friends, going to an extreme which is not at all warranted by facts, think that they need not bother about labor union movements. But I again call attention to the figures I have given. The fact that an economic movement which can at times marshal an army of 500,000 men is controlled by schemers directly opposed to Socialism, cannot be a matter of indifference to us. No influence must be allowed to thus overshadow the influence of Socialism. There are no two ways about it. The whole of this labor movement must become saturated with Socialism, must be placed under Socialist control, if we mean to bring together the whole working class into that army of emancipation which we need to accomplish our purpose. (Great applause.) If some stupendous political uprising should take place, the outgrowth of some strike, you may be sure that the masses of wage workers who are not to any extent acquainted with the history of labor affairs, and who recognize the trade union officials as the noted leaders of labor, will immediately

turn to those men, raise them to political leadership, and thereby defeat the purpose of their own spontaneous, honest, well intended movement. The Socialist Labor party is not safe against such complications so long as the purely economic struggle, strong and full of possibilities as it still is, and will continue to be, brings to the surface leaders who owe their prominence to accident or intrigue, and can therefore be turned into instruments of capitalism whenever capitalism so desires.

"It seems to us, then, that all those conditions make it a duty for the honest element of organized labor, for the class-conscious element, as to relieve the American wage working class from that particular species of leeches who suck its life blood as hungrily as the capitalists do, who, when they do not or cannot squander the funds of the union, contrive at least to suppress the development of that spirit of solidarity which alone can enable the working class to effectively resist the capitalist class. And in order to free the labor movement from those leeches—that do not belong to it, that actually have turned the trade union organization into agencies of capitalism—the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance was established." (Great applause.)

The speaker then reviewed in broad outlines and chronologically the circumstances and developments which, beginning with the separation of the New York Central Labor Federation from the New York Central Labor Union, led step by step to a simultaneous movement of "new trade unionism," finally taking shape in the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance. By the experiences of Socialists in both the A. F. of L. and the K. of L.—where they were able at times to drive conservative leaders into a corner but soon lost, through the trickery of those leaders, all the ground gained—he showed that it was impossible to bring about any change whatever in the conduct of those two organizations. In reference to the last convention of the A. F. of L., held at New York in December, 1895, he said:

"I understand that Mr. Weissman persuaded these conservative American Federationists to come to New York for the purpose of impressing the Socialists here. Oh, yes! He has succeeded in impressing the New York Socialists! He gave us an exhibition of what pure and simple is. We saw them in convention; we saw them on the stage of Cooper Union; and we heard their words of despair. They said to us: 'You must keep on in this old rut, and after we have tried that for two hundred years you may think of that Co-operative Commonwealth, which is, after all, a dream in the clouds.' (Laughter). The New York workmen said in reply: 'If we are to wait so long, why, then, we might as well abandon those fake unions and try the revolutionary movement.' (Great laughter and applause.)

"There is some truth in the statement that this A. F. of L. convention inspired the S. T. & L. A., although the formation of the latter body had been already then decided upon. It did give us courage; it did show us that there was absolutely no hope from the old leaders. There they stood, man after man, and none of them even mentioned the great force of the modern industrial movement; none of them seemed to know that there was such a thing in existence as the reserve army of unemployed labor. They did not know it, they could not explain it; they therefore had no hope, no idea, except that this old-style thing would go on for two hundred years, and that the workers who have been ground down and down would be dazzled at such a prospect, and would continue to pay to each of the leaders, for the next two centuries, from \$3,000 to \$4,000 a year.

"So, in that sense, we did feel encouraged by that convention.

"Since then we have accomplished as much as we could expect. In the first announcement we made we said to the working class: 'We do not give out any berth; we do not expect this organization to suddenly spring into existence with immense numbers.' But we were quite

clear that it would be able to grow only by the gradual working of the experiences through which American labor was passing. We relied upon the logic of events. In the old-style unions there were forces at work that would make the old policy odious and intolerable to a constantly growing number of their members. The dissatisfaction with leaders who relied so much on bluff and deception would steadily increase, until the dissatisfied were at last ready to enter a movement that accorded better with their aspirations. They would not this time repeat the experiment of passing from the K. of L. to the A. F. of L., and conversely; from one corrupt, reactionary organization to another equally corrupt, equally reactionary.

"Again, we thought we would see the time when the 60,000 Socialists, at least, who are now in the unions of this country, instead of paying dues to corrupt officials, and thus helping those officials to corrupt and retard the labor movement, would contribute their mite in the economic elpations. For various reasons it is impossible to get the great bulk of the Socialist voters to become regular members of the S. L. P.; but it is possible that most of them belong to trade organizations in Socialism, whereas they might contribute to the progress of the movement if they belonged to a Socialist organization.

"We have here to meet the objection that by organizing separately we deprive our comrades of contact with conservative workers. In answer to that we may simply state what the experience of the Socialists most active in trade unionism has been. They were frequently able to arouse the rank and file of organizations reputed conservative, but when they had got through with their speaking and received much applause, the old leaders, who had something to do with the bread and butter of the members, got their fine work in, and easily brushed away all traces of Socialist agitation. We saw, therefore, that it was necessary in order to keep the recruits we were gaining, to remove them from an atmosphere hostile to us, and to place them in a Socialist atmosphere. And we found that there was actually no great obstacle to the accomplishment of this apparently difficult task; that the working people were not averse to Socialist leadership; that they would as lief accept an honest Socialist as leader as they would a corrupt Democrat or a corrupt Republican. For instance, in the case of the New York and Brooklyn Shoemakers, formerly affiliated with the K. of L., almost all of them English-speaking, we had the experience that 800 or 900 of them cheerfully entered the S. T. & L. A.

"Mr. Chairman, we have been anxious to have this convention understand that we recognize that the final form of the American labor movement, as well as of the labor movement of any country, must be the political organization of the working class into a great Socialist party, and we want you to understand that the S. T. & L. A. considers itself an ally and supplement of the S. L. P. in bringing to it those masses of labor that cannot directly be reached by our party organization—and we want to emphasize that point.

"The recent convention of the Alliance, in adopting a constitution, provided that we request and invite all Sections of the S. L. P. to be represented in the central bodies of the Alliance—the 'District Alliances'—in the same manner as the various unions are, but without paying any dues to the national organization or taking out any charter. It also provided that the S. L. P. be invited to send, as a sign of recognition and brotherhood, three delegates to the national conventions of the Alliance, who shall have the same rights as the delegates of District Alliances.

"In order to make it impossible for any masked swindlers to obtain influence in the Alliance and to swing it back to the conservative side, we have provided that every officer of a local or district alliance, or of the National Alliance, shall take a pledge that he will not be affiliated

with any capitalist party, and will not support any political action except that of the S. L. P. We have also provided that when the National Executive Board shall find any such officer using his office in the interest of any political party other than the S. L. P., he shall be expelled.

"And we had right then and there an opportunity of showing what this meant. At our convention a man who represented himself as a delegate from a local alliance in New York was objected to and shown to be a heeler of Tammany Hall. The convention rose in indignation and expelled him as a traitor to his class. Thus did we give notice to the fakirs that they cannot, under any circumstance, by any wife, by any trick, ever sneak into the Alliance and continue there the nefarious work which they have been accustomed to do elsewhere.

"That is the organization which I have the honor to represent here, and for which I have the honor to ask your sympathy and support." (Prolonged applause).

Delegate Matchett spoke in favor of the S. T. & L. A., and moved to endorse the same.

Delegate De Leon then introduced the following resolution:

WHEREAS, Both the A. F. of L. and the K. of L., or what is left of them, have fallen hopelessly into the hands of dishonest and ignorant leaders;

WHEREAS, These bodies have taken shape as the buffers for capitalism, against whom every intelligent effort of the working class for emancipation has hitherto gone to pieces;

WHEREAS, The policy of "prostituting" the leaders of these organizations has been tried long enough by the progressive movement, and is to a great extent responsible for the power which these leaders have wielded in the protection of capitalism and the selling out of the workers;

WHEREAS, No organization of labor can accomplish anything for the workers that does not proceed from the principle that an irrepressible conflict rages between the capitalist and the working class, a conflict that can be settled only by the total overthrow of the former and the establishment of the Socialist Commonwealth; and

WHEREAS, This conflict is essentially a political one, needing the combined political and economic efforts of the working class; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we hail with unqualified joy the formation of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance as a giant stride towards throwing off the yoke of wage slavery and of the robber class of capitalists. We call upon the Socialists of the land to carry the revolutionary spirit of the S. T. & L. A. into all the organizations of the workers, and thus consolidate and concentrate the proletariat of America in one irresistible class-conscious army, equipped both with the shield of the economic organization and the sword of the Socialist Labor Party ballot.

Moved and seconded by Delegate Vogt that the delegates of the Alliance be allowed the privilege of the floor while the resolution was being discussed.

Delegates Ruther and Sieverman opposed the motion.

Delegate Kreft offered a substitute, that the members of the delegation be allowed the privilege of the floor in accordance with the rule adopted at the opening of the afternoon session of yesterday. Carried.

Moved that the resolution introduced by Delegate De Leon be adopted.

The question was then debated by Delegates Krumroy, Katz, Serrer, Gordon, Forker, Theinert, Fiebigger, Fish, F. W. Wilson, Long, Fry, Nagler and Wenzel.

The hour of adjournment being nearly reached, the discussion was laid over, and Delegate Brophy reported on behalf of the Press Committee that Delegate Sanderson was a party in interest in one of the matters before the Committee, and recommended that the Convention elect another member in his stead.

Delegate Long moved that if there be any matter before the Press Committee in which Delegate Sanderson was interested, upon that matter he do not adjudicate and that this Convention proceed to elect a member to take his place.

A debate followed in which Delegates Kreft, Sieverman, Sanderson and De Leon took part.

Delegate Sieverman moved that the motion be tabled. Recess.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The motion of Delegate Sieverman to table the motion of Delegate Long concerning Delegate Sanderson and the Press Committee was taken up.

Delegate Vogt raised the point of order that the motion to table was out of order, under the ten-minute rule adopted. Overruled.

Delegate Vogt appealed from the decision of the chair, whereupon 17 voted in favor of sustaining the decision of the chair, and 34 against; and the appeal was declared sustained.

The motion of Delegate Long was then debated by Delegates Vogt, Sanderson, Fry, De Leon, Ruther, Santal, Kreft, Hoehn, Nagler, Long, Konikow, Pellenz and Fiebigger; and the previous question having been moved, the motion was adopted by a vote of 43 in favor and 27 against.

The Convention thereupon proceeded to the election of a substitute member of the Press Committee.

Delegates Curran, Peare, Pellenz, Kreft, Ruther, Sieverman, Gordon and Kalbitz were nominated. Delegates Peare, Pellenz, Ruther, Sieverman, Gordon and Kalbitz declined.

On motion the nominations were closed and the chair was instructed to appoint two tellers to canvass the vote; whereupon the chair appointed Delegates Wialand and Gordon.

Comrade Jonas asked to be allowed to withdraw from the Committee on Grievances, and he was excused. Delegate Kalbitz was unanimously elected to fill the vacancy.

The tellers appointed by the chair to canvass the vote cast for a substitute member of the Press Committee then reported the result of the vote to be, Kreft, 47; Curran, 34; and Delegate Kreft was thereupon declared elected.

The discussion of the resolution referring to the S. T. & L. A., introduced by Delegate De Leon was then resumed, and

the resolution was debated by Delegates Carless, Boether, Jonas, Balkam, Matchett, Herrschaff, Isenecker, Konikow, Sarnial, Kalbitz, Hoehn, Krefl, Sieverman and Kraemer.

A roll-call for the introduction of resolutions was then taken, and the following resolutions were offered for submission to the appropriate committees: Delegate Munroe, covering "Proposition blanks"; Section Providence, "Trade and Labor Alliance and the People"; Section New Haven, "Printing of Platform in Dutch language"; Section Paterson, "Evening Sessions"; Section Essex County, "Representation in Convention"; Delegate Brophy, "Composition of National Executive Committee"; Section Providence, "Labor and Cleveland Faction"; Delegate Krumroy, "Reconsideration of Rules"; Delegate Sieverman, "Printing of Proceedings."

Adjourned to July 7th, at 9 a. m.

FOURTH DAYS SESSION.

Tuesday, July 7th, 1896.

The Convention met pursuant to adjournment. Delegate Fry was elected chairman, and Delegate Balkam, vice-chairman, for the day.

The discussion of the resolution referring to the S. T. & L. A. was then resumed. The question was debated by Delegates Pellenz, Vogt, Bennetts, Pearce, Reinstein, Brower, Reed, Mansfeld, Gordon, Murphy, Wieland, Katz, Krumroy, Sieverman, Franz and De Leon.

Moved that when twenty per cent. of the delegates call for a roll-call, the same shall be ordered. Carried.

The roll-call was then ordered, and the resolution endorsing the S. T. & L. A. was adopted by the following vote:

For the resolution—Delegates Serrey, Goldsmith, Fry, Kalbitz, Wenzel, Hoedecker, Brophy, Konikow, Isenecker, Keiser, Connor, Ruthen, Pearce, McDonald, Palme, Koepke, Nagler, Kraemer, Sanderson, Hoehn, Whitehouse, Gordon, Eulenstein, Grundy, Dahmer, Mundt, Keim, Carless, Rosenbloom, Maguire, Kamps, James, Wieland, Reinstein, Hahn, Lange, Thissen, Matchett, Fiebigler, Neben, Forker, Vogt, Ossberg, Jonas, Sarnial, De Leon, Balkam, Copp, Murphy, Wilson, Macdaniel, Reed, Franz, Sjöholm, Zimmer, Mannier, Katz, Liebing, Bennetts, Hug, Urison, Krumroy, Ibsen, Watkins, Munroe, Long, Fish, Curran, Theinert, Muldowney, Powell; total, 71.

Against the resolution—Delegates Mansfeld, Ufert, Sievermann, Pellenz, Patberg, Gasteiger; total, 6.

Not voting—Krefl, of Philadelphia.

Delegate Wenzel, of Baltimore, stated that he did not yesterday speak against the resolution endorsing the S. T. & L. A., as reported in the "Volkszeitung" of July 7th, but spoke in favor of it.

Recess.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Convention went into executive session, and thereupon the Committee on Constitution and Resolutions, by Delegate De Leon, chairman, submitted their report, as follows:

The Committee recommend that the order of arrangement of the Constitution should be re-arranged in the following order:

I. Management; II. Sections; III. State Organizations; IV. National Executive Committee; V. National Board of Appeals; VI. Conventions; VII. Dues; VIII. The Party Press; Miscellaneous Regulations; Resolution.

Carried.

The Committee recommend that Art. I, Management, be amended to read as follows:

I. MANAGEMENT.

The affairs of the Party are conducted by the National Executive Committee, the National Board of Appeals, the State Committees, the local Sections, the National Conventions, and by the general vote. At all elections a plurality vote is sufficient to elect; but an absolute majority is required to elect the seat of the National Executive Committee.

Delegate Brophy: Do I understand that each Section is to be now finally adopted as proposed?

Delegate De Leon: No. Upon the motion to adopt the Constitution as a whole, objections can be stated and additions and alterations proposed.

The Vice-chairman took the chair, and Delegate Fry read a minority report of the Committee on Constitution, as follows:

"We recommend that the National Executive Committee be composed of one representative from each State, to be elected by a general vote of all members in the State."

Delegate Fry thereupon resumed the chair.

Delegate Brophy: I move to add at the end of the first line, after the word "National" the words "and an," so that the Section will read: "The affairs of the Party are conducted by the National Committee and an Executive Committee."

Delegate De Leon: I move that we temporarily lay on the table Section I and the suggestion of Delegate Brophy, and first take up Section IV. Carried.

(Note.—In order to avoid possible confusion and misunderstanding, the Secretary of the Convention has in this record embodied the corrections of order and phraseology finally determined upon by the National Executive Committee, who were appointed by the Convention as a Committee on Style of Platform and Constitution.)

The Committee recommend that Sec. 1, of Art. IV, be amended to read as follows:

IV. NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

1. The National Executive Committee shall be composed of seven members, to be elected by a general vote of the Section or Sections of the place selected as the seat of the same. The Committee shall elect from its members a Recording Secretary and a Treasurer.

Moved by Delegate Brophy and seconded by Delegate Kretf that the following be adopted as a substitute for the recommendation of the Committee:

The National Committee shall be composed of one member from each State that may be organized with a State Committee, to be elected for one year by the referendum vote, except in New York State, which shall have three, one to be a resident of Kings County, one of New York County, and one outside of Kings and New York counties, to be elected as provided above—except that Section Kings County and Section New York shall nominate the candidates from their respective cities, but the three delegates shall be elected by the membership of the State at large.

The members of the National Committee shall be elected in the month of January of each year and shall meet the first Monday in February.

At its first meeting and every year thereafter it shall elect an executive of three members which shall have all the powers now possessed by the National Executive Committee subject to the direction and control of the National Committee.

The substitute motion was then debated by the following delegates: Jonas, opposing; C. Wilson, opposing; Sieverman, favoring motion, but opposing designation of location; Kretf, favoring motion; Fiebigel, Katz and Serrer, opposing motion; Pellenz and Gordon, favoring motion; Sanial, opposing motion; Sanderson, favoring motion; Keiser, opposing; Kuhn, opposing; Hoehn, favoring motion; De Leon, opposing motion; Brophy, the mover of the resolution, closing the discussion.

A vote on Delegate Brophy's proposition was taken, resulting as follows: 20 in favor, 51 against; and the motion was declared lost.

Moved that the recommendation of the committee be accepted. Carried by a vote of 54 in favor, 15 against.

Resolutions were then presented as follows: Delegate Hoehn, "Printing of Appeal to the People's Party"; Delegate Carless, "Forbidding any member to start an independent Socialist newspaper, unless authorized by his Section"; Delegate Krumroy, "Amending Constitution in regard to State Board of

Grievances." Referred respectively to Committees on Platform, Press and Constitution.

Moved that Sergeant-at-Arms be instructed to arrange for the holding of night sessions. Seconded and carried.

Adjourned to July 8th, at 9 p. m.

FIFTH DAY'S SESSION.

Wednesday, July 8th, 1896.

Met pursuant to adjournment. Delegate Fr. Wilson, chairman; Delegate Ch. Wilson, vice-chairman.

The Committee on Constitution recommended that under Art. IV, the remainder of Sec. 1, Sec. 2, and Sec. 3 be amended to read as follows:

The said Section or Sections shall elect the National Secretary, who shall also act as Secretary for Foreign Affairs. He shall be a member of the Executive Committee, but with an advisory voice only.

It is the right and duty of the said Section or Sections to suspend any member of the National Executive Committee, including the National Secretary, who may be guilty of any neglect of duty; to elect a temporary successor in place of such suspended member, and to submit such action with the reasons therefor to a general vote of the Party.

The said Section or Sections shall also elect an Auditing Committee, which shall have power at any time to inspect and audit the books and the funds on hand.

2. The members of the National Executive Committee shall be elected for the term of one year, but may be reelected at the expiration thereof.

3. The National Executive Committee has for its duty:

- a. To carry out the resolutions of the National Convention and those adopted by general vote.
- b. To supervise the agitation throughout the country.
- c. To establish proper relations and communication with the Socialist parties of other countries.
- d. To make all necessary preparations for the National Convention, and make a full report to such Convention on all party matters.
- e. To issue to the Sections semi-annually and in a sufficient number of copies a report of the Party's finances.

On motion, duly seconded, the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

The Committee recommended that subdivision a of Sec. 4 be amended to read as follows:

- a. To receive and submit to a general vote propositions sent from any Section if endorsed by at least five others located in at least three different States. If in

the opinion of the National Executive Committee a proposition is not in the interest of the Party, it shall not be submitted to a general vote unless twenty-five other Sections shall subsequently re-endorse it; then the proposition shall be submitted to a general vote.

Delegate Serrer, of New Haven, moved an amendment that a proposition made and endorsed by any three Sections shall be put to a general vote.

Delegate Konikow moved an amendment that instead of twenty-five Sections ten Sections be sufficient to require a general vote if the Executive Committee decide that it is not in the interest of the Party.

Delegate Jonas suggested that the amendment should read "ten Sections in at least three States." Delegate Konikow accepted the suggestion.

Delegate Serrer withdrew his amendment in favor of that offered by Delegate Konikow.

Delegate Brophy moved an amendment that the paragraph shall remain as it reads in the present Constitution.

The question was then discussed by Delegates Keiser, Kuhn, Rutherford, De Leon, MacDaniel, Fry, Goldsmith, Serrer and Vogt.

Delegate Vogt suggested that the provision should read: "If in the opinion of the National Executive Committee a proposition is not in the interest of the Party, it shall not be submitted to a general vote, unless five per cent. of all the Sections in good standing shall subsequently re-endorse it; then the proposition shall be submitted to a general vote."

Delegate Konikow accepted the suggestion and withdrew her amendment, and the Committee likewise accepted.

A vote was then taken on the amendment offered by Delegate Brophy, and the same was declared lost.

The recommendation of the Committee, as modified, was then adopted.

The Committee recommended that subdivisions b, c and d remain as they were in the present Constitution. Carried.

The Committee recommended that the following Section be added:

6. The National Executive Committee shall issue application cards to the Sections containing a plain exposition of the principles of the S. L. P., and also of the duties required from the applicant for membership.

The recommendation was adopted.

The recommendation of the Committee as to Art. I, Management, made at yesterday's session, was thereupon adopted.

The Committee recommended that Art. II, Sections, be amended to read as follows:

II. SECTIONS.

1. Ten persons may form a Section, provided they acknowledge the Platform, Constitution and Resolutions of the Socialist Labor party and belong to no other political party.

a. They shall report their organization as a Section both to the National Executive Committee and to the State Committee, giving a list of members, and send the dues for the current month to the State Committee, or, in the absence of such, to the National Executive Committee.

b. Each Section shall send every six months a report of its numerical and financial condition, also its progress and prospects, to the National Executive Committee; and shall report to the State Committee at least once a year the names and addresses of members in good standing and otherwise.

2. The Section shall be the unit of organization.

3. It shall be the duty of the Sections to provide rules governing their action, provided such do not conflict with the rules of the National and State organizations.

4. At every meeting a new chairman shall be elected, who shall observe the usual parliamentary rules.

5. Every Section shall elect from among its members an organizer and such additional officers as it deems proper. The Organizer shall conduct the correspondence with the National Executive Committee, and shall send an official report once every six months to the said committee; he shall send ten cents of the monthly dues of each member to the State Committee, or, in the absence of such, to the National Executive Committee; he shall conduct the local organization and agitation.

6. Should a protest be entered against the admission to a Section, of any applicant for membership, a two-thirds vote of all present at a regular business meeting shall be necessary to admit him.

7. Sections shall have jurisdiction over their own members.

8. Every Section shall elect a Grievance Committee of three members, which shall investigate all charges and difficulties in the Section, and report its decision. Sections having a Central Committee may refer such investigations to such committee.

9. Charges against members shall not be debated until the Grievance Committee has thoroughly investigated the case and reported to the Section. All charges must be made in writing, whereupon the committee shall investigate the case and hear the witnesses of both parties. A detailed report of the investigation shall be drawn and laid before one of the next business meetings of the Section. The Section shall then decide the matter, and its decision be entered on the minutes. The min-

utes and all papers concerning the investigation, shall be delivered to the Secretary for safe keeping. The Secretary shall inform the accused in writing of such decision.

All decisions of the Section may be appealed from to the National Board of Appeals.

10. A majority of two-thirds of the members present at any business meeting shall be sufficient to expel any member; a simple majority shall be sufficient to suspend.

11. No expelled or suspended member shall be accorded the privileges of a member of the Party by any Branch, or Section, or by any City, State or National Committee unless the bar of expulsion or suspension has been removed by the Section expelling or suspending him, or by the National Board of Appeals.

12. Each Section shall hold a regular business meeting at least once a month.

13. In any Section which is divided into two or more branches, all local business of the Section and dealings with the party's national and state management shall be carried on by a Central Committee.

14. Members who have withheld payment of their dues for more than three months shall be suspended from all rights until they have fulfilled their obligations.

15. Sick or unemployed members will be excused from payment of dues.

16. The result of every election within the Section must be communicated at once to the National Executive Committee and to the State Committee.

17. In case of dissolution of any Section, all property of the same must be delivered to the National Executive Committee.

18. No Section shall enter into any compromise with any other political party.

On motion, duly seconded, the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommend that Art. III., State Organization, be amended to read as follows:

III. STATE ORGANIZATION.

1. Whenever there are three Sections in any one State, in three different towns, they shall form a State organization, to be known as the State Committee. It shall be the duty of such State Committee to conduct systematic agitation within their jurisdiction and form new Sections.

2. Every Section connected with a State Committee must also be connected with the National Executive Committee.

3. The State Committee shall send regular semi-annual reports to the National Executive Committee, and submit monthly a financial report showing receipts and expenditures.

4. In the election of a State Committee and its eventual recall, the same rules shall hold good that govern the National Executive Committee.

5. The State organizations shall have power to make regulations governing their form of organization in accordance with the laws of their respective States, provided such regulations do not conflict with the party's National Constitution and Platform.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Konikow moved to reconsider Sec. 6 of Art. II.

Delegate De Leon: I suggest that we leave these points of objection until we come to the final adoption of the constitution as a whole.

Delegate Konikow: I agree.

The committee recommend that Secs. 1 and 2 of Art. V., National Board of Appeals, shall be amended to read as follows:

V. NATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS.

1. The National Board of Appeals shall be composed of seven members, to be elected by a general vote of the membership of the city selected by the National Convention as the seat of such board. No member of such board shall be eligible to any office in the party during his or her term of office; nor shall the seat of the board be the same as that of the National Executive Committee.

2. The duties of this board shall be:

a. To settle, upon appeal, all difficulties in the party within four weeks after receiving the necessary evidence, the decisions to be at once communicated to the National Executive Committee; and to decide appeals in cases of expulsion and of suspension.

b. From all decisions of the Board appeal may be taken to the general vote, or to the National Convention, provided a convention is to be held within six months. The Sections must report the result of their vote to the National Executive Committee within six weeks; within two additional weeks the National Executive Committee must publish the result.

c. The Secretary of the Board of Appeals shall render to the National Convention a full report of the transactions of the board during its term of office.

The board shall declare vacant the seat of any of its members who shall have been absent from three consecutive meetings without sufficient excuse, and order the membership of its locality to fill the vacancy.

The recommendation of the committee was accepted.

Delegate Konikow moved the adoption of the following:

3. The Secretary of the Board may, or upon the de-

mand of a majority of the members thereof, shall call a session.

Carried.

Delegate Brophy moved the adoption of the following:

4. The members making a decision shall sign the same before transmittal to the National Executive Committee.

Carried.

Delegate Vogt moved the adoption of the following:

5. Duplicates of decisions and dissenting opinions shall be filed with the Secretary of the Board before transmittal to the National Executive Committee.

After discussion by Delegates Kreft, Konikow, Brophy, Wegener, De Leon and Sieverman the above was adopted by a vote of 54 in favor and none against.

The committee recommended the adoption of the following:

6. No person connected with a case shall be qualified to sit on it. If the issue is one in which the whole Section is interested and such Section happens to be the one that chooses the board, then the National Executive Committee shall appoint another Section to choose a Board of Appeals for that case.

Adopted.

Recess.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

Moved that no delegate shall occupy more than five minutes' time on any question, and the right to assign time shall be abridged. Carried.

The Credential Committee then reported on the case of Martha Moore Avery, bearing credential from Section Worcester.

Delegate Brophy moved that Mrs. Avery be admitted as a delegate to the Convention.

The question was discussed by Delegates Brophy, Jonas, Vogt, Konikow, De Leon, Serer, Kreft, Fiebigger.

Delegate Katz moved an amendment that Mrs. Avery be entitled to a seat and voice in the Convention.

The motion made by Delegate Brophy was lost: 15 for, 44 against.

The amendment of Delegate Katz was lost: 27 for, 32 against.

Moved that Mrs. Avery be entitled to a seat, but to no voice or vote. Carried.

The Committee on Constitution recommended that Sec. 1 of Art. VI, Conventions, be amended to read as follows:

VI. CONVENTIONS.

1. A National Convention of the Party shall be held every fourth or presidential year; but if five Sections in three different States so demand, a general vote shall be taken as to holding a special Convention. A general vote shall decide as to the place, but the date of a Convention shall be fixed by the National Executive Committee.

Delegate Hoehn moved to strike out "A National Convention of the Party shall be held every fourth or presidential year," and to substitute the following: "A National Convention of the Party shall be held annually." Upon a division this amendment was lost, 11 voting for, and 43 against.

The recommendation of the Committee was then adopted. The Committee recommended that Sections 2, 3, 4 and 5 should be amended to read as follows:

2. The Congressional District shall be the basis of representation.

A Section shall be entitled to one delegate for every one thousand S. L. P. votes cast in the Congressional District or Districts under its jurisdiction, and to one additional delegate for every major fraction thereof.

Where several Sections have jurisdiction of one or more Congressional Districts, they shall jointly elect the delegate or delegates to which they are entitled.

Sections whose Congressional District or Districts poll a smaller vote than one thousand shall be entitled to one delegate.

A delegate shall be a member of the Section or one of the Sections electing him.

Each delegate shall have only one vote.

3. The expenses of each delegate shall be borne by the Sections sending him. The expenses of the National Convention shall be paid by the Party.

4. The National Convention shall frame the national platform, decide the form of organization, select the seats of the National Executive Committee and Board of Appeals, and investigate and decide all difficulties within the Party.

5. All acts of the Convention shall be submitted to the Sections for general vote.

Delegate Konikow moved that the clause governing representation remain as it stands in the present Constitution.

The motion and amendment were then discussed by Delegates Hoehn, Konikow, Balkam, Fiebigger, De Leon, Bennetts, Sanderson, Goldsmith, Carless, Curran, Herschaf, Ruth, Watkins, Kraemer, Sieverman and Maguire.

A vote being taken, the amendment was declared lost; and the original motion was accepted.

The Committee recommended that Art. VII, Dues, be amended to read as follows:

VII. DUES.

1. The Sections shall levy upon each of their members a monthly tax of ten cents, to be paid monthly to the State Committee, or, in the absence of such, to the National Executive Committee.

2. The dues shall be receipted for by stamps to be furnished by the National Executive Committee to the State Committees at the rate of five cents each, and in the absence of such, to the Sections at the rate of ten cents each.

3. Every State Committee or Section shall receive a first quota of stamps on credit, to be measured by the size of membership; such quota to remain a standing indebtedness. All stamps received subsequently must be paid for in cash, and the Secretary of the National Executive Committee, as well as secretaries of State Committees, shall not send out any stamps other than in compliance with this rule.

Adopted.

The Committee recommended that Art. VIII., The Party Press, be amended to read as follows:

VIII. THE PARTY PRESS.

1. The National Executive Committee shall have control of the contents of the party organs, and shall act on grievances connected with the same.

2. The editors shall be appointed by the National Executive Committee from such comrades as shall be recommended for appointment by the National Convention. They cannot be members of the committee.

3. The National Executive Committee shall give notice of discharge at least two weeks before the same is to take effect; the editors shall also be bound to give two weeks' notice of their intention to leave their position.

4. Any of the editors who may prove incompetent or violate the Platform or Constitution of the Party shall be forthwith suspended by the National Executive Committee.

The recommendation was adopted.

The Committee recommended that the Miscellaneous Regulations be amended to read as follows:

MISCELLANEOUS REGULATIONS.

1. This Constitution may be amended by the National Convention or by a general vote. Within five weeks after the issuance of a call for a general vote, amendments relative to changing the Constitution may be proposed by any Section to any proposition so laid before the Party, and such amendments shall then also be submitted to be voted on together with the original proposition. The result of the vote must be reported to the National Executive Committee within ten weeks after the first call was issued.

The National Executive Committee shall forthwith transmit to the Sections a tabulated statement of the vote cast by each Section.

2. No Section or subdivision shall be designated by race or nationality.

3. All officers, boards or committees of the Party shall be subject to removal by their constituents (see Art. IV., Sec. 1, as to the National Executive Committee).

4. No applicant shall be admitted to membership without the presiding officer shall explain the significance of the class struggle to him and his pledging himself in writing to its recognition and support. A copy of the constitution and platform shall be handed to every new member.

5. In subscribing to the platform and constitution, the members take upon themselves the obligation to assist each other to the extent of their ability in case of need.

6. A member in good standing of one Section shall have the right to attend and speak at any meeting of another Section, but shall not be allowed to vote.

7. The National Executive Committee shall immediately after the expulsion of any member publish the name of the expelled in the Party organ.

8. No person shall be nominated as a candidate for any public office unless he has been a member of the Party for at least one year, and has identified himself with the Party by active participation in its work.

9. No candidate of this Party for any public office shall be permitted to accept any nomination or endorsement from any other political party.

10. Any member of the Socialist Labor Party accepting a nomination of the Party, shall at once place in the hands of the Secretary of the Section of which he is a member, his resignation, dated blank, of the office for which he is so nominated and authorize the Section to have it filed with the proper authorities in case of his election and failure to stand squarely on the Party's platform and to advocate its principles.

11. All former provisions conflicting with this Constitution are rescinded.

RESOLUTION.

WHEREAS, We recognize the necessity of carrying on the war against capitalism simultaneously on the political and economic fields, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we recommend to all Socialists to join the organizations of the trades to which they respectively belong.

On motion, duly seconded, the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

The Committee recommended the addition of the following, as Sec. 5, of Art. IV.:

5. Annually, and in due time, the National Executive Committee shall call upon the Sections to make nominations for

not more than three delegates to represent the Party in the annual convention of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. The nominees shall be chosen by a general or referendum vote, and the ones receiving the highest vote shall be declared elected.

The question was debated by Delegates Bennetts, Hoehn, Ruther, Kraemer, Wenzel, Pellenz, Krefft, Vogt, Katz, Sanders, Sanial, Sieverman, Fish, De Leon.

A roll-call was then ordered and the recommendation was adopted by the following vote:

Yeas—Serer, Goldsmith, Powell, Fry, Kalbitz, Hoedecker, Brophy, Konikow, Isenecker, Keiser, Connor, Ruther, Peare, McDonald, Palme, Nagler, Kraemer, Whitehouse, Gordon, Grundy, Herrschaft, Carless, Wilson, Rosenbloom, Kamps, James, Gerber, Wegener, Wieland, Reinstein, Bergmann, Lange, Thissen, Fiebigler, Neben, Forker, Vogt, Jonas, Sanial, De Leon, Balkam, Copp, Wilson, Macdaniel, Reed, Hug, Zimmer, Mannier, Katz, Liebing, Bennetts, Urison, Krumroy, Ibsen, Watkins, Munroe, Long, Fish, Muldowney; total, 59.

Nays—Wenzel, Sanderson, Hoehn, Eulenstein, Dahmen, Keim, Ufert, Hahn, Ossberg, Sieverman, Pellenz; total, 11.

Not voting—Franz, of New York; Krefft, of Philadelphia.

Delegate Brophy moved that the first order of business at the opening of every morning and afternoon session hereafter shall be to call for reports of committees, and each committee shall report on the matters as to which it has reached a decision; such reports to be placed in the hands of the Secretary and to come up in the order in which they have been handed in. Carried.

Recess.

EVENING SESSION.

Met at 7 p. m.

Moved by Delegate De Leon that the Constitution as amended be referred to the National Executive Committee, and that it be instructed to act as a committee on style and to get it in proper shape. Carried.

Moved by Delegate Krefft to adopt the Constitution as a whole.

Moved by Delegate Copp to lay over the final adoption of the Constitution as a whole until the next session. Carried by a vote of 28 in favor and 12 against.

The Auditing Committee reported that the books have been kept properly and audited properly by the committee appointed by Section New York; and filed report.

On motion, duly seconded, the report was approved and the Auditing Committee discharged.

The Grievance Committee thereupon submitted the following report:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON APPEALS AND GRIEVANCES.

New York, July 8, 1896.

To the Delegates of the National Convention:

Comrades: Section St. Louis submits grievance that the National Executive Committee violated the constitution in declining to submit to the referendum the proposition of Section Baltimore, dated March 30, 1896, which reads as follows:

"The Executive Committee, S. L. P., of the New York faction, shall request the Executive Committee of the Cleveland faction to see to it that a committee of that faction appear at the National Convention of the New York faction, for the purpose of reconciling and uniting both factions of the party."

The National Executive replied to the comrades of Baltimore in a circular letter, asserting their constitutional right to determine what is and what is not in the interest of the party, under Paragraph A, Sec. 4, of Article III of the Constitution, and declaring the proposition to be in direct opposition to the interests of the party.

The grievance of Section St. Louis is based upon an interpretation of the Constitution that denies any judicial function to the National Executive in such cases and which compels them to submit any and all propositions, good, bad and foolish, that may be offered for general vote. Your committee is of unanimous opinion that the plain letter of the Constitution sustains the National Executive in their claim of judicial right in this case, even if a reading of the whole of Article III, which defines the duties of the National Executive Committee, did not do so. A glance at that article will show that said committee is in one instance clothed with power to "superwise," etc.; in another "to establish proper relations," etc.; and in other parts of the Constitution they are directed to do things that plainly indicate the exercise of judgment and the right of choice.

Passing from the determination of the National Executive Committee's right of power in this matter, we call the attention of this Convention to another phase of this episode, the importance of which, from the standpoint of militant Socialism, cannot be overestimated. Our party is not built on capitalistic lines, and is not, therefore, a party of periodic activity; it is on the stump all the time; its work is never done. It represents the eternally progressive spirit and love of justice that is in man, not the inertia and conservatism of property interests. The character of our warfare and our methods of propaganda demand the exercise of the most skillful generalship we may command.

This is the trust committed to the National Executive. Subject to the control of our membership and the laws provided for their guidance, the safety, welfare and growth of the party are largely in their hands. Their first and highest duty is to maintain a solid rank lined up against the enemy.

To have entertained the proposition of Section Baltimore would have been official proclamation to the world that we are, on the eve of the most eventful Presidential election since the Rebellion, a faction; that the victories we have won at such great cost in the past were not victories, but merely indecisive skirmishes; that a parcel of malcontents, irreconcilable and useless even if reconciled, were worthy of attention on the morning of battle, and that men who think so little of their franchise of citizenship as not to vote at all, and others whose notion of warfare upon capitalism is to vote for it, were worthy of recognition as Socialists. Men who at this time of day call themselves Socialists but who refuse to join the party and stand shoulder to shoulder with their comrades in the ranks, are not Socialists at all. They are skulkers, renegades and enemies. Only as such do we recognize them.

Your committee feels that, for presenting this larger view of this matter, we do not need to make any apology to the Convention.

We recommend that the appeal of Section St. Louis be dismissed, and that the following resolution be adopted as part of this report:

RESOLVED, That this National Convention tenders its commendation to the National Executive for their action in declining to submit to referendum the Baltimore proposition, and instructs them and their successors not to entertain any proposition that in any way involves the recognition of the so-called "Cleveland faction," or any faction, fraternally,

F. W. LONG,
BENJAMIN T. WHITEHOUSE,
CHAS. F. WILSON,
MAX FORKER,
FRED KALBITZ.

Delegate Fish moved the adoption of the report as read.
Delegate Wenzel: I am instructed by Section Baltimore to protest against that resolution.

Delegate Grundy: Is it in order to discuss at this time the constitution of the "Cleveland, or Cincinnati, faction?"
Delegate Trison: I protest against that remark. There is now no "Cincinnati faction."

The question was then discussed by Delegates Chas. Wilson, Forker, Ruthen, Krumroy, Keiser, Steverman, Sanderson, Kraemer, Wieland, Reinstein.

The report was thereupon adopted.

The Grievance Committee submitted the following report:
In the matter of the grievance of Section Louisville against Section St. Louis it is claimed that Section St. Louis and the Socialist Newspaper Union persisted in printing in the heading of Louisville "Labor" the words "Official Organ of the S. L. P., Louisville, Ky.," after such heading had been ordered taken out by Louisville Section.

An explanation by the delegates from St. Louis and a communication from the National Secretary to Section St. Louis in reference thereto will, we believe, remove the grievance complained of by Section Louisville. Fraternally,

F. W. LONG,
FRED KALBITZ,
MAX FORKER,
BENJAMIN T. WHITEHOUSE,
CHAS. F. WILSON.

The report was approved.

The Grievance Committee submitted this further report:

American Section Chicago complains of incompetent management on the part of the business department of "The People," and makes four charges, to wit:

Charge 1. One thousand copies of the May day edition of "The People" were ordered and paid for. They did not receive receipt for the money, nor get the papers until May 16.
Your committee finds that the fault lay partly with the Chicago comrades and partly with the Post Office department for non-delivery of papers. As the rule in the office of "The People" is not to send receipts, but to acknowledge same by date on wrapper on the sending of the bundles, we find the charge not sustained.

Charge 2. That Comrade Reisenberg sent \$2 to "The People," \$1 for subscription and \$1 to the Daily People fund, the latter being acknowledged, while the subscription was acknowledged only when complaint had been made.

This matter is explained under Charge 1.

Charge 3. That a collector afterward called (presumably on Comrade Reisenberg) for the subscription.

This is easily explainable, and is no basis for any charge.

Charge 4. That our Chicago comrades do not get "The People" in time for distribution at their Sunday meetings.

This is unpleasant but unavoidable.

Your committee finds the charges not sustained, and recommends their dismissal. Fraternally,

F. W. LONG, Chairman.

After discussion by Delegates Sanderson and Forker, the report of the committee was approved.

The Grievance Committee submitted this further report:

Your committee sustains the following dissent of Comrade Goldstein, as a member of the National Committee on Appeals and Grievances, on every point raised and recommends the reversal of the decision of the said National Committee on Appeals and Grievances by this Convention.

"Boston, July 1, 1896.

At a meeting held in People's Union Hall, Tuesday, June 30, at 9 P. M., of the National Grievance Committee the following was adopted by a vote of 3 to 1.

"That it is the sense of the National Grievance Committee that the National Executive Committee should have put to a vote of the party members the appeal of Section Baltimore."

I, the undersigned, dissent from the report of the committee for the following reasons:

1. That according to the constitution of our party the National Executive Committee shall put to a vote of the members all resolutions presented to them by Sections of our party, providing it is in the *interest* of the party.

2. That the resolution adopted by Section Baltimore and signed by other Sections is not in the *interest* of our party, as the Cleveland faction has insulted our organization by declaring to the people that we are not the S. L. P. of America, but only a faction of the party.

3. That through their paper, styling itself the Central Organ of the S. L. P. of America, they have tried to disrupt our party, and have tried to fuse with the Populist party of Illinois.

4. They have violated the agreement entered into in Rochester, N. Y., in 1892, which was submitted to a vote of the party members, and adopted by an overwhelming vote.

5. They have refused the invitation of the National Executive Committee to set aside their personal feelings and prejudices, and come within the folds of the S. L. P. of A.

6. Now that they have tried all in their power to injure our standing as the only Socialist Labor Party of America, they, a *faction*, a handful of kickers and disturbers, wish to again have an invitation extended to them to come unto us; and, no doubt, if any agreement was entered into, and should the major part of our members decide to continue our good work, and maintain New York as the seat of the National Executive Committee, they would again, as their record proves, be false to their obligation, and refuse to submit to the will of the majority of our members.

7. Therefore I recommend that the National Executive Committee be upheld in its action in refusing to submit to a vote of the party the resolution of Section Baltimore, as the said committee has acted in accordance with the constitution laid down in our last Convention.

Respectfully submitted,

DAVID GOLDSTEIN,
Member National Grievance Committee."

Moved that the report of the committee be approved.
Carried.

The Grievance Committee reported having referred to the Press Committee a communication received by it concerning the controversy between the Jewish Convention and the Jewish Press.

The Grievance Committee moreover submitted the following report:

National Convention, 1896, New York, July 7.

Comrades: Your committee reports as follows in the case of appeal of Section Lynn, Mass., from the decision of the National Board of Grievances, made November 19, 1895, on the appeal of H. N. Casson and fourteen other members of Section Lynn.

Without going into consideration, before the Convention, of the voluminous evidence presented, and considered by us, we take up the case in its chronological order and find:

On the suspension of H. N. Casson by Section Lynn, in October, 1895: That such suspension was regular, and justified by the evidence.

On the finding of the National Board on Grievances, made November 19, we decide:

Such action was irregular, and in flat contradiction of a resolution, made part of the decision, which plainly indicated the righteousness of the action of the Section. The Board erred also in failing to give Section Lynn proper opportunity to be heard on appeal.

Upon one point of dissent, made by Comrade T. C. Brophy in his minority report on this case, your committee desire to pass:

We are of opinion that the National Board of Grievances has power to reinstate suspended or expelled members, and Paragraph A of Section 2 of Article V, should be so amended as to put this matter beyond dispute.

We recommend that the appeal of Section Lynn be sustained, and the action of the National Board of Grievances in reinstating H. N. Casson be overruled. Fraternally,

FRED W. LONG,

FRED KALBITZ,

CHAS. F. WILSON,

MAX FORKER,

BENJAMIN T. WHITEHOUSE.

The report was approved.

The Grievance Committee then submitted the following report:

Appeal to Convention by Massachusetts State Central Committee from action of National Executive Committee.

July 8, 1896.

To the Delegates of the National Convention:

Comrades: The State Committee of Massachusetts presents charge against the National Executive, and says that a reply to a resolution passed by Boston American Section and printed in "The People" of April 26, was refused publication by the National Executive.

Your committee finds that the National Executive did not refuse publication, but sent the matter back in order that an ungrammatical and obscure paragraph that they marked might be altered and its meaning made clear, the National Executive not desiring to take the responsibility of alteration upon themselves. In the meantime there arose considerations in connection with the issue between Boston American Section and Massachusetts State Committee that would have

made the publication prejudicial, in the opinion of the National Executive, to the good of the party.

In this view of the matter your committee concurs. Section 1 of Article IV of the Constitution gives the National Executive control of the contents of the party press, and in this matter we are of opinion that the National Executive acted wisely, and to the best interests of all involved. Fraternally,

F. W. LONG, Chairman.

The report was approved.

The Committee on Platform reported, and recommended that the preamble to the platform remain as it is.

Moved to approve the report.

The question was then discussed by Delegates Brophy, Vogt, Ruther, Long, Kuhn and Sanderson.

Moved by Delegate Sieverman that the matter be referred back to the committee for further consideration.

Carried.

Adjourned until 9 o'clock a. m., July 9, 1896.

SIXTH DAY'S SESSION.

Thursday, July 9th, 1896.

The convention met pursuant to adjournment. Delegate Sieverman, chairman, and Delegate Peare vice-chairman.

Moved that the proceedings of this convention be printed in full and copies thereof charged to the Sections at cost price.
Carried.

The Committee on Platform and Resolutions reported receiving a proposition that the Constitution and Platform be printed in the Dutch language, and recommended that whenever 300 persons speaking a certain language joined the party, the Platform and Constitution be printed in such foreign language.

Hoehn: I wish to hear the Secretary on this subject. What is his opinion as to printing special editions of the Platform for a limited number of people.

Kuhn: My experience has been that it is a very expensive thing. At present the Platform and Constitution are printed in English, German, Polish and Danish. The Platform, separate and distinct from the Constitution, is printed in English, German, French, Italian and Slavish, and I found that it required quite an expenditure of money to do all this. Yet there is a demand for it. As soon as a number of people enter the party they immediately call for a Constitution in their language, and we have to give way to that demand to a certain extent.

Ruther: I move that the whole matter be referred to our National Executive Committee, and that whenever they think it is necessary to have them printed in any certain language they shall have the power to do so.

Carried.

The Committee on Platform and Resolutions reported receiving the following proposition from Section Canal Dover:

"Owing to the territorial extent of our country, the scarcity of agitators and the high cost of traveling the propagation of Socialist ideas and principles is greatly hampered. The party should, therefore, direct its attention to immigration, as immigrants scatter all over the country and could be used as disseminators of Socialism by placing in their hands, while in European sea ports, Socialist literature, to be studied by them while in transit.

To attain this object the following resolution is submitted to the Convention for indorsement:

1. The National Executive Committee shall propose to the London International Congress that a pamphlet be published setting forth the fundamental principles of Socialism, and elucidating the nature of the capitalist system and of wage slavery.

2. Said pamphlet shall also contain a list of all the Socialist papers and periodicals published in this country, and the address of the National Executive Committee. It shall be issued in English, German, Italian, French, Hungarian, and Slavish, and be given out free to immigrants in all European seaports; the coast line from Hamburg to Naples being divided into language districts in order to facilitate and systematize the distribution.

3. It is further suggested that an international fund might be created for the purpose in view."

The committee recommended that the proposition be handed to our delegate to the London Congress, to act on it as he sees proper. Carried.

The committee reported favorably on the following proposition submitted by Section Passaic County, N. J.

WHEREAS, We have experienced the evils of the present disorganized manner in which the speakers of the party are distributed throughout the country, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we strongly recommend that lecture circuits be organized in different parts of the country under the direct supervision of the National Executive Committee.

The question was discussed by Delegates Fiebigler, Kuhn, Vogt, Fry, Hoehn, Carless, Wenzel, Krumroy, Serer, Kraemer,

Delegate Krumroy moved that the proposition be adopted with the understanding that it shall apply only to organizers sent out by the National Executive Committee or by State Committees in conjunction with the National Executive. Carried.

The proposition as amended was then adopted.

The committee reported favorably on the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That private co-operation be not encouraged by the party.

The resolution was adopted unanimously, after discussion by Delegates Hoehn, Fry, Sanial, Kraemer and Wilson.

The Convention then took up the question of adopting the Constitution as a whole.

Delegate Konikow moved to reconsider Section 6 of Art. II, providing that a majority of two-thirds of the members present at any business meeting shall be sufficient to expel and a bare majority to suspend any member.

A division was called for, and the motion to reconsider was lost by a vote of 14 for and 39 against.

Delegate Fry moved the previous question. Carried by a vote of 37 for and 13 against.

The Constitution was thereupon adopted as a whole, and the Committee on Constitution was discharged.

The Press Committee thereupon rendered the following report:

REPORT OF THE PRESS COMMITTEE.

WHEREAS, The Board of Arbitration appointed by the National Executive Committee, at the request of the Jewish comrades, for the settlement of certain disputes concerning the papers published in the Jewish dialect, rendered its decision, after an exhaustive inquiry, in the course of which all the disputants were afforded unlimited opportunities to present their respective cases; and

WHEREAS, It is claimed by the Jewish comrades that, in accordance with the pledges given by them before and after the appointment of the said Board of Arbitration to consider its decision binding and final, they have complied and are complying with its provisions; and

WHEREAS, Notwithstanding such compliance, not only the branches exclusively composed of Jewish comrades, but certain Sections to which they belong, in common with comrades of other nationalities and languages are disturbed by endless discussions and even personal quarrels, to the great detriment of the general affairs of the S. L. P.; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the party withdraw from all manner of connection with the Jewish press, and in that way free itself from all entanglement on that subject. To this end it is ordered that neither shall the National Committee take a hand in the election of any editor of the Jewish press, or in the overseeing of its editorial or business management; nor shall any section, branch, Assembly district, or any division whatever of the S. L. P. (as such) be represented in or connected with any organization or convention or other body that directly or indirectly manages, or is to manage, control or direct any Jewish paper; and it is further ordered that the whole issue be left to be settled by the contending Jewish comrades in their individual capacity.

THOS. C. BROPHY, Chairman.

Delegate Reed offered the following amendment: "That the Party as such have no official connection with the Jewish Arbeiter Zeitung and the Abendblatt, and that the Jewish Socialist press be left to the Jewish members of the Party." Seconded by Delegate Konikow.

De Leon: The substitute is not as clear as the recommendation.

The question was then discussed by Delegates Wilson, De Leon, Sanial, Jonas, Goldsmith, Carless, Vogt, Kuhn and Katz. Delegate Katz moved that Comrade Cahan be granted the privilege of the floor for five minutes.

Delegate Copp raised the point of order that unanimous consent must be obtained from this body before one who is not a delegate can address the Convention. Overruled.

Delegate Vogt appealed from the decision of the chair;

whereupon the decision of the chair was sustained by a vote of 28 in favor and 27 against.

Katz: Will I be allowed to embody in my motion that a member of the opposition be also given the floor?

The Chair: Yes.

Delegate De Leon moved that the motion of Delegate Katz to grant the privilege of the floor to Cahan and the opposition be laid upon the table.

Carried by a vote of 32 for and 24 against.

The question of the recommendation and amendment was then further discussed by Delegates Konikow and Reed.

Reed: We have been informed that this committee had this matter in hand for three long months; did all they could and failed. That is one of the reasons why this recommendation comes from New York Section. What possible objections have they to seeing this matter left as Section New York wants it. I think the resolution here is an attempt to forbid the Sections from discussing this matter. If I was a member of any of these Sections I should insist upon discussing it, no matter what the decision of this Convention is, and I certainly should discuss it.

Delegate Reinstein moved the following amendment: "That the Arbeiter Zeitung and Abendblatt shall be henceforth subject to the joint control of the National Executive Committee, of the Arbeiter Zeitung Publishing Association and of a Press Committee duly elected by the exclusively Jewish Sections and Branches of the Party."

Delegate Vogt moved that the report of the Committee and the amendment offered by Delegate Reed be laid on the table temporarily. Carried.

Delegate Vogt thereupon moved the adoption of the resolution submitted by Delegate Reinstein.

The question was discussed by Delegates De Leon, Long, Krefl, Rosenbloom, Vogt, Balkam.

The previous question was then moved, and carried by a vote of 35 for and 14 against.

The amendment submitted by Delegate Reinstein was declared lost.

De Leon: I desire to go on record as voting in the negative because I did not receive the light for which I asked.

The Convention then took up the recommendation of the committee and the amendment thereto submitted by Delegate Reed.

Delegate Krefl moved the previous question upon the entire subject under consideration. Carried.

The Chair: We will now vote on the amendment proposed by Section New York.

Copp: I protest against that amendment submitted by Delegate Reed being called the amendment of Section New

York. I refuse to accept it as a correct interpretation of my instructions; and in my best judgment the recommendation of the committee carries out my instructions to the letter.

A vote was then taken on the amendment offered by Delegate Reed, and the same was declared lost.

A vote was then taken on the recommendation of the Committee, and the same was declared carried.

Delegates De Leon, Sanial and Copp stated that they desired to go on record as voting for the recommendation of the committee.

Recess.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

Delegate Long moved to suspend the regular order of business and to proceed with the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States. Carried.

Delegate Fry nominated Matthew Maguire as President. Delegate Ch. Wilson nominated Charles H. Matchett. Delegate Balkam nominated William Watkins, of Dayton, O. Delegate Powell nominated J. Mahlon Barnes. Delegate Hahn nominated Job Harriman, of California. Delegate Nagler nominated Daniel De Leon, of New York, who declined. The nominations of J. Mahlon Barnes and Job Harriman were withdrawn, and the nominations were closed.

Delegate De Leon moved that in the election of candidates for President and Vice-President an absolute majority shall be necessary for a choice, and that this be made a permanent rule for the future. Carried.

A roll call was then ordered, and the vote resulted as follows: Total number of votes cast, 71. Matchett, 43; Maguire, 23; Watkins, 4; Peare, 1.

Moved and seconded by the nominator of one of the other candidates who received a minority vote, that Charles H. Matchett be made the unanimous choice. Carried unanimously.

Moved and seconded that a committee of two be appointed by the Chair to wait on Delegate Matchett and inform him of his nomination.

Delegate Matchett was escorted to the chair and addressed the Convention.

Delegate De Leon nominated Comrade Matthew Maguire as Vice-President.

Sanderson: Section St. Louis desires to second the nomination of Delegate Maguire.

Moved and seconded that Delegate Matthew Maguire be made the unanimous choice of this Convention as its candidate for the Vice-Presidency of the United States. Carried unanimously.

A committee was appointed by the Chair to notify Comrade Maguire of his nomination; and thereupon Comrade Maguire was escorted to the Chair and addressed the Convention.

Delegate Long moved that the following address to the Jewish Socialists of the country be issued by this Convention:

New York, July 5, 1896.

To the Jewish Socialists throughout the United States:

Dear Comrades: The National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party of the United States extends to you all the hand of comradeship. We have in mind a recollection of the sturdy battles you have fought for our common cause. We fully appreciate the sacrifices you have made, and know of the persecution you have manfully endured in the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat.

We have considered the matters you have brought before us for adjudication, and trust our disposition of the issues will meet with your approval. If there have been differences among you in the past, we beg to express the hope that they will now be adjusted. If feelings of estrangement have existed, let them be forgotten and buried in unity and a renewal of that splendid enthusiasm you have so often shown in the fight for liberty. Rally around the flag.

With Socialist salutations we greet you all.

The National Convention,

FRANK SIEVERMAN, Chairman.

CHAS. B. COPP, Secretary.

Carried.

Murphy: In voting for the motion introduced by Delegate Reinstein this morning in regard to the Jewish Press, I inadvertently voted against the instructions of Section New York, and I wish to change my vote.

The Grievance Committee reported as follows:

"The German Section Holyoke, Mass., demands that the party news in the 'Vorwärts' be in larger type than heretofore.

The Committee recommends that this matter be referred by the Convention to the editor of the 'Vorwärts.'

The report was adopted.

The Press Committee submitted the following:

DAILY PEOPLE.

"RESOLVED, That the comrades at large should be informed that it would be necessary to collect a fund of about \$50,000 in order to undertake the editing of the DAILY PEOPLE with any degree of safety; furthermore to open a national subscription for the accumulation of such fund."

Carried.

Brophy: It has come to the knowledge of the Press Committee that Delegate Sanderson has a document which he desires to present to this Convention, and the committee, before passing upon the matter in their report, recommend to the Convention that Delegate Sanderson be allowed to present his report to the Convention, and if it is referred to the committee, we will then be able to report with all the papers and docu-

ments that are desired to be presented to us. A number of delegates question the authority of Delegate Sanderson to report officially, but it seems to the committee that the Convention ought to pass upon that matter officially, as we desire to have all the documents before us in coming to a conclusion upon the matter involved.

The recommendation of Delegate Brophy was adopted.

Delegate Sanderson thereupon read the report of the Socialist Newspaper Union.

Delegate Brophy moved that it be referred to the Committee on Press and that consideration of the same be laid over until the Press Committee reports. Carried.

The Committee on Platform and Resolutions thereupon submitted the following platform and resolutions:

PLATFORM.

The Socialist Labor Party of the United States, in Convention assembled, reasserts the inalienable right of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

With the founders of the American republic we hold that the purpose of government is to secure every citizen in the enjoyment of this right; but in the light of our social conditions we hold, furthermore, that no such right can be exercised under a system of economic inequality, essentially destructive of life, of liberty and of happiness.

With the founders of this republic we hold that the true theory of politics is that the machinery of government must be owned and controlled by the whole people; but in the light of our industrial development we hold, furthermore, that the true theory of economics is that the machinery of production must likewise belong to the people in common.

To the obvious fact that our despotic system of economics is the direct opposite of our democratic system of politics, can plainly be traced the existence of a privileged class, the corruption of government by that class, the alienation of public property, public franchises and public functions to that class, and the abject dependence of the mightiest of nations upon that class.

Again, through the perversion of democracy to the ends of plutocracy, labor is robbed of the wealth which it alone produces, is denied the means of self-employment, and, by compulsory idleness in wage slavery, is even deprived of the necessities of life.

Human power and natural forces are thus wasted, that the plutocracy may rule.

Ignorance and misery, with all their concomitant evils, are perpetuated, that the people may be kept in bondage.

Science and invention are diverted from their humane purpose to the enslavement of women and children.

Against such a system the Socialist Labor Party once more enters its protest. Once more it reiterates its fundamental declaration that private property in the natural sources of production and in the instruments of labor is the obvious cause of all economic servitude and political dependence.

The time is fast coming, however, when, in the natural course of social evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures and crises on the one hand, and the constructive tendencies of its trusts and other capitalistic combinations on the other hand, shall have worked out its own downfall.

We, therefore, call upon the wage workers of the United States, and upon all other honest citizens, to organize under the banner of the

Socialist Labor Party into a class-conscious body, aware of its rights and determined to conquer them by taking possession of the public powers; so that, held together by an indomitable spirit of solidarity under the most trying conditions of the present class struggle, we may put a sum-mary end to that barbarous struggle by the abolition of classes, the restoration of the land and of all the means of production, transportation and distribution to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder; a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

RESOLUTIONS.

With a view to immediate improvement in the condition of labor we present the following demands:

1. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the progress of production.
2. The United States to obtain possession of the mines, railroads, canals, telegraphs, telephones and all other means of public transportation and communication; the employees to operate the same co-operatively under control of the Federal government and to elect their own superior officers, but no employee shall be discharged for political reasons.
3. The municipalities to obtain possession of the local railroads, ferries, water works, gas works, electric plants and all industries requiring municipal franchises; the employees to operate the same co-operatively, under control of the municipal administration, and to elect their own superior officers, but no employees shall be discharged for political reasons.
4. The public lands to be declared inalienable. Revocation of all land grants to corporations or individuals, the conditions of which have not been complied with.
5. The United States to have the exclusive right to issue money.
6. Congressional legislation providing for the scientific management of forests and waterways, and prohibiting the waste of the natural resources of the country.
7. Inventions to be free to all; the inventors to be remunerated by the nation.
8. Progressive income tax and tax on inheritances; the smaller incomes to be exempt.
9. School education of all children under fourteen years of age to be compulsory, gratuitous and accessible to all by public assistance in meals, clothing, books, etc., where necessary.
10. Repeal of all pauper, tramp, conspiracy and sumptuary laws. Unbridled right of combination.
11. Prohibition of the employment of children of school age and the employment of female labor in occupations detrimental to health or morality. Abolition of the convict labor contract system.
12. Employment of the unemployed by the public authorities (county, city, state and nation).
13. All wages to be paid in lawful money of the United States. Equalization of women's wages with those of men where equal service is performed.
14. Laws for the protection of life and limb in all occupations, and an efficient employers' liability law.
15. The people to have the right to propose laws and to vote upon all measures of importance, according to the referendum principle.
16. Abolition of the veto power of the Executive (national, state and municipal), wherever it exists.
17. Abolition of the United States Senate and all upper legislative chambers.

18. Municipal self-government.

19. Direct vote and secret ballots in all elections. Universal and equal right of suffrage without regard to color, creed or sex. Election days to be legal holidays. The principle of proportional representation to be introduced.

20. All public officers to be subject to recall by their respective constituencies.

21. Uniform civil and criminal law throughout the United States. Administration of justice to be free of charge. Abolition of capital punishment.

The Platform and Resolutions were adopted as read.

The Committee on Platform and Resolutions recommended that an address submitted by Delegate Hoehn, containing an appeal to the workmen in the People's Party, be referred to the National Executive Committee for the purpose of putting the same into more effective shape and have the same printed and circulated.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

The Committee on Platform and Resolutions submitted the following:

RESOLVED, That the Executive Committee invite Comrade De Felice, or some other Italian comrade to make an agitation tour in the United States.

The resolution was adopted.

The Committee on Grievances thereupon submitted the following report:

New York, July 9, 1896.

To the Delegates of the National Convention, S. L. P.:

Comrades: The National Executive makes appeal from a decision of the National Board of Grievances. The facts are as follows:

The German Section Syracuse, through their organizer, sent a communication to "Vorwärts" for publication. The editor of that paper struck out a portion of the article, and was sustained by the National Executive in so doing. Appeal was taken to the National Committee on Appeals and Grievances, which committee reversed the action of the National Executive and ordered the matter that had been edited out to be printed in the PEOPLE.

The issue before your committee is whether the editor of "Vorwärts" was justified in his course in the matter. He says he edited the matter out because its publication was a reflection upon the members of New York Section, infringed upon their rights as party members, and would have initiated a warfare of words in our papers, to the injury of our cause. Your committee concurs in this view, and finds that the National Executive Committee were justified in sustaining the prerogatives of the editor of "Vorwärts."

We, therefore, recommend that the appeal of the National Executive be sustained and the action of the National Committee on Appeals and Grievances be overruled. Fraternally,

FRED W. LONG,
MAX FORKER,
FRED KALBITZ,
BENJ. T. WHITEHOUSE.

After discussion by Delegates Wilson, Vogt, Konkow, Sieverman, De Leon, Long, Brophy and Katz, the report of the committee was adopted, and the Grievance Committee discharged. The Press Committee then reported that the communication read by Delegate Sanderson did not properly belong before this Convention, and submitted the following:

In Convention, July 8, 1893.

WHEREAS, An association called the Socialist Newspaper Union was organized under a resolution adopted at the National Convention in 1893, and has since been publishing a weekly paper called "Labor," and furnishing so-called local "Labors" to various sections of the party, many of which are only local in name, and in some instances have been maintained and continued after the local sections had repudiated them as the local organs;

WHEREAS, This paper has in many instances contained articles teaching false economics as well as puffs and pictures of leading capitalists and politicians; and

WHEREAS, It was evidently not the intention of the last National Convention—which otherwise duly provided for the publication of the official organs of the S. L. P. of the United States under the absolute control of the whole party—to recommend or endorse the creation of an agency through which its most important weapon, namely, its press, could be made to fall under the exclusive control of one single section, which might at any time use it to advance its particular views or even to promote the special ends of a few active members thereof;

RESOLVED, That this Convention repudiates the claim that "Labor" and its local editions are in any way organs of the party. We recommend to sections that so-called local "Labors" be discontinued.

Moved that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Carless submitted the following amendment:

"No member of the S. L. P. shall be allowed to start any Socialist paper or support the same unless it is endorsed by the Section of which he is a member."

Delegate Sanderson submitted the following substitute:

"That this Convention decides that the interests of the party demand the elimination of syndicate plate matter from the papers published by the Sections, and that the Sections belonging to the Socialist Newspaper Union take a more active part in controlling its management. Seconded.

Delegate Reinstein submitted the following substitute:

"The Convention orders the Socialist Newspaper Union to either keep out of the columns of the local "Labors" the plate matter and the insinuations of any kind against any member of the party or to discontinue its publication entirely. And the Convention vests the National Executive Committee with the power to order the discontinuance of its publications in case it fails to comply with this order."

Seconded.

The question was discussed by Delegates Fish, Murphy, De Leon, Goldsmith, Sanderson, Vogt, Ruther, Fiebiger, Katz, Kraemer, Forker and Brophy.

Adjourned to July 10th, at 9 a. m.

SEVENTH DAY'S SESSION.

Friday, July 10th, 1896.

The Convention met pursuant to adjournment. Delegate Brophy was elected chairman, and Delegate Wieland vice-chairman for the day.

Delegate Sanderson withdrew the substitute motion introduced by him at yesterday's session, and offered the following, duly seconded, in its stead:

"Resolved that the interests of the party demand the elimination from Socialist papers of all syndicate plate matter favoring the institutions of capitalism; that the Sections belonging to the Socialist Newspaper Union take an active part in its management, as intended by its form of organization; that no member of the Socialist Labor Party be allowed to start a Socialist paper, or support the same, as an organ, unless it is endorsed by the Section of which he is a member; that no insinuations against any member of the party should be published in any Socialist paper, and that the National Executive Committee order the suspension of any publication violating the rule."

The question of the report and amendments was then discussed by Delegates De Leon, Gordon, Kraemer, Vogt, Wenzel, Balkam, Fiebiger, Hoehn, Wilson, Krumroy, Sanial, Ruther, Muldowney, Kuhn, Sieverman, Fry, Murphy, Konkow, Bennetts, Lange, Reinstein, Brophy, Kreft, Copp, Sanderson and Macdaniel.

The previous question was moved and carried by a vote of 44 in favor and 9 against.

The substitute offered by Delegate Sanderson was then lost by a vote of 10 in favor and 39 against.

The substitute offered by Delegate Reinstein was then lost by a vote of 11 in favor and 36 against.

The amendment offered by Delegate Carless was then lost by a vote of 3 in favor and 29 against.

The resolutions submitted by the committee were then adopted by a vote of 45 in favor and 13 against, on the call of the roll, viz.:

Ayes—Serrer, Goldsmith, Kalbitz, Kraemer, Hoeckecker, Brophy, McDonald, Palme, Whitehouse, Herrschaft, Wegener, Carless, Fr. Wilson, Maguire, Ufert, Kamps, Reinstein, Bergmann, Hahn, Lange, Thissen, Fiebiger, Forker, Vogt, Jonas, Sanial, De Leon, Balkam, Copp, Murphy, Ch. Wilson, Macdaniel, Franz, Sjöholm, Mannier, Katz, Bennetts, Urison, Krumroy, Ibsen, Watkins, Munroe, Muldowney, Curran, Isenecker; total, 45.

Nays—Powell, Wenzel, Konkow, Kaiser, Fry, Sanderson, Hoehn, Gordon, Wieland, Sieverman, Liebing, Fish, Kreft, total, 13.

Not voting—Long.

The Press Committee submitted the following:

RESOLVED, That we endorse the attitude of our English-speaking organ, THE PEOPLE, both with regard to internal party concerns and external party policy, and its management is hereby directed to continue, until otherwise ordered, by a National Convention or a general vote, the policy heretofore pursued.

Moved and seconded that the resolution be adopted.

The question was discussed by Delegates Long, Murphy and Gordon.

Recess.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Committee on Platform and Resolutions, by Delegate Sanial, presented the following:

RESOLVED, That the National Executive Committee be and is hereby instructed to issue to the people of the United States an address, in which a full presentation shall be made of the existing class interests and resulting class conflicts which have found expression in the platforms of all the political parties now in the field, and in which special stress shall be laid upon the following facts and considerations:

The unconditional surrender of the Democratic party to the Populist demand for a fifty-cent silver dollar marks a new era in the development of capitalism and capitalistic politics. Two classes equally dishonest, and heretofore united for the spoliation of Labor, are now politically arrayed against each other in a struggle for the preservation of their respective fleecings. Under the capitalistic system, which both sides are equally intent upon maintaining, not only the economic triumph of the creditor class would naturally be assured if peace were preserved, but the political success of the debtor class would only hasten its economic downfall by precipitating a monetary, financial, industrial and commercial crisis of unprecedented magnitude. Nay; such a crisis is actually now impending from the mere fact that the issue is made and the war proclaimed; and millions of wage workers, ever willing to be fleeced provided they can get a crust of bread from either class of fleecers, may at any time be reduced to starvation in enforced idleness.

But peace may not be preserved. That a great crisis may come to pass without violent outbursts and bloody repressions, no one, indeed, can believe in the lurid light of recent events. For years the Eastern plutocracy has been drilling its militia, while the Western farmocracy was furnishing its guns. With all the armed forces at its command the creditor class will unquestionably assert its privileges as soon as they will be contested, while the debtor class, holding sway in the silver states and relying upon the starved wage workers to fight its battles in the great industrial centers, will forcibly attempt to resist annihilation and make good its claims. In a word, the conditions are now as ripe for civil war as they were at any previous time in the history of our country.

Between the two anarchistic classes that capitalism, through its misuse of science and riches, has evolved from a people once united in comparative ignorance and poverty, stands the great American proletariat, the wage slave class, the landless, homeless and helpless producer of all that wealth which is now the bone of contention between its despoilers. It, and it alone, can save the national ship from the coming storm of anarchy, by rallying at the polls under the banner of Socialism, casting overboard the riotous pirates, taking the helm and heading straightway for the peaceful waters of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Moved and seconded that the resolutions be adopted. Carried unanimously.

The discussion of the question of the resolution endorsing the attitude of "The People" was then resumed and the question was discussed by Delegates Krefit, Sieverman, Katz, Konikow, Vogt and De Leon.

The resolution was adopted by a vote of 45 in favor and 4 against.

The Press Committee presented the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That the secretary of the National Executive Committee be and is hereby directed to procure and furnish, so far as possible, complete files of the PEOPLE, from the first issue to the present volume, to five of the principal public or State libraries in the country, and shall hereafter procure and present bound volumes of said paper yearly to twenty-five of the principal public or State libraries.

Moved and seconded to adopt. Carried unanimously.

The Press Committee presented the following:

RESOLVED, That the management of THE PEOPLE, in conjunction with the National Executive Committee, shall annually issue an almanac to be known as the "Socialist Almanac," which shall contain the platform and constitution, a concise history of the international movement for the year, together with statistics relating to wealth and poverty, election statistics both national and international, and such other matter as will make a handbook of Socialism. It shall be sold at a price to be fixed by the National Executive Committee.

Delegate Wenzel moved an amendment that the almanac shall contain the names and addresses of all the organizers of Sections in the country, and of the State Committees.

After discussion by Delegates, Kuhn, Hoehn, Fiebiger, Krefit, Serrer and Vogt, the amendment was lost.

The original resolution was then adopted.

Delegate Vogt moved to suspend the order of business and proceed to choose the seat of the National Executive Committee and of the Board of Appeals. Seconded and carried.

De Leon: I wish to nominate New York as the seat of the National Executive Committee. When I name New York I mean "Greater New York," I mean that the members of the Sections located in Greater New York shall elect the National Executive Committee, but that the headquarters, the seat of the Committee, shall be on Manhattan Island.

Delegate Sanderson seconded the nomination of Greater New York.

On motion the nominations were closed, and Greater New York was unanimously chosen the seat of the National Executive Committee.

Delegate Gordon nominated Cleveland as the seat of the Board of Appeals.

Delegate Sieverman nominated the city of Philadelphia.

On motion, the nominations were closed; and thereupon Cleveland was chosen as the seat of the Board of Appeals, the vote standing: Cleveland, 32; Philadelphia, 17.

The Committee on Platform and resolutions, by Delegate Sanial, then submitted the following resolution:

WHEREAS, The rapid growth of the Socialist vote, and the victories recently won by our comrades at municipal elections in some manufacturing centers over the combined forces of the Republican and Democratic parties, show that the time is near when the management of public affairs in numbers of cities and towns will partly or entirely devolve upon Socialist officials; and

WHEREAS, In their efforts to improve the condition of the working people they will find themselves hampered at every step by the many devices, legislative and other, that the capitalist class has skilfully provided for the conservation of its system;

RESOLVED, First—That in order to facilitate the task of these Socialist officials, a committee of five members, to be known as the Municipal Committee of the S. L. P., be appointed by the National Executive Committee, with a view to the elaboration of a general programme of municipal reforms for the information of the people and the guidance of Socialist officials; it being expressly understood, however, that such programme shall in no sense be considered as a mere set of demands for the relief of the working people and the redress of flagrant wrongs under the capitalist system, and that the term "Municipal Socialism," frequently used of late by ignorant persons in reference to such demands is hereby repudiated.

Second—That among the matters to be considered in the said programme we recommend the following:

Recovery of our municipal franchises and their operation by the municipality;

Establishment of municipal labor exchanges under the absolute control and management of organized labor;

Attitude of municipalities in strikes;

Education and the supply of meals and clothing to the children of poor parents;

The tenement house system and the possibility of providing the working people at a low rental with comfortable houses built and owned by the cities;

Equalization of real estate and personal taxation; not for the purpose of decreasing the taxes on real estate, but for the purpose of so raising the municipal revenues as to permit of improvements now denied on the ground of economy.

Adopted unanimously.

Comrade Karol Dolski was then granted the privilege of the floor and addressed the Convention.

Delegate Reinstein then offered the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That the National Convention of the S. L. P., reconvened to the new National Executive Committee, elected after the convention, to sustain the decision of the old National Executive Committee, to the effect that as soon as a Polish party organ is started, the National Executive Committee contribute to its support \$5 per week for the term of one year.

On motion, duly seconded, the same was adopted.

Delegate Reinstein then offered the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That the editorial and business management of the Polish party organ to be started, be placed under the joint control of the

National Executive Committee, S. L. P., and the Executive Committee of the Alliance of Polish Sections and Branches of the S. L. P.

On motion, duly seconded, the same was adopted.

Delegate Reinstein then offered the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That the editor of the Polish party organ be elected and removed subject to the approval of the National Executive Committee; in case the National Executive Committee and the Executive Committee of Polish Branches cannot agree, the party decides finally by a general vote.

Delegate Krieff moved to amend the resolution so that it shall read: "The editor shall be elected and dismissed by the Polish Sections of the Party."

The question was discussed by Delegates Reinstein, Long, Kuhn; and the amendment was carried.

Delegate Reinstein moved an amendment that the Central Committee shall be composed of the same number of members as the National Executive Committee. Carried.

The original motion, as amended, was then adopted.

Delegate Long moved that Comrade Martha Moore Avery be invited to address the Convention. Unanimously carried.

Mrs. Avery thereupon addressed the Convention.

Delegate Server presented the following resolution:

WHEREAS, Belgium has lost one of her best and most faithful workers, Jean Volders,

RESOLVED, That this Convention recommend the raising of a fund for the completion of a monument to his memory.

Delegate Long moved as an amendment that the National Executive Committee be instructed to procure a bronze wreath for the monument of Jean Volders, of Belgium, and that on that wreath be inscribed "From the Socialists of the United States, a Tribute of Love."

Delegate Server accepted the amendment.

Moved and seconded that this resolution be referred to the National Executive Committee. Carried.

After addresses by Delegates Wilson, De Leon, and Sanders, the Convention adjourned sine die, with cheers for the Socialist Labor Party and for International Socialism.

CHARLES B. COPP, Secretary.